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The Scots in Ireland under the Union: The boundaries of Britishness c.1800-1925

Stuart Clark

PhD History

University of Edinburgh

2020

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Abstract of Thesis

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The aim of this study is to contribute towards historical understanding of how Scottishness, Irishness, and Britishness were constructed and operated within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, c.1800-1925. It seeks to move beyond existing comparative work concerning Scottish and Irish engagement with the British union state by focussing on direct interactions between the two groups. The thesis focuses on the activities and experiences of different groups of Scots on the island of Ireland during this period: soldiers in the Scottish regiments; Scottish politicians holding Irish office; Scottish farmers and agriculturists involved on Irish land; and the membership of Dublin's Saint Andrew Society. It argues that in each sphere of research Scots articulated distinct versions of Scottish identity in Ireland and were correspondingly recognised as distinctly Scottish by the Irish. Whilst the elements of Scottish identity articulated by different individuals in differing contexts does not necessarily point to a consistent and coherent interpretation of Scottishness; Scottishness was, crucially, consistently deployed as a claim to expertise or superiority in areas crucial to British interests in Ireland and the wider empire. I argue that this functionality is reflective of the leading role Scots had played in defining and maintaining interpretations of Britishness which worked to privilege their own place within the union state and empire. By seeking to rigidly adhere to and enforce their interpretations of Britishness in Ireland, Scots were significant contributors to the failure of the union state to develop a version of British identity capable of including all of the inhabitants of Ireland.

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This thesis aims to contribute to the study of Scottish, Irish and British identity during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. It examines the activities in Ireland of several groups of Scots: Scottish soldiers, politicians, agriculturists, and the Scots of the Dublin Saint Andrew Society. It seeks to demonstrate that whilst Scottishness could be claimed and used in a variety of ways by different individuals in different contexts this did not prevent a recognition by the Irish of a distinctive Scottish presence on the island of Ireland during the period. It argues that across the different contexts studied Scottishness was used a sa claim to superiority or expertise in areas important to wider British interests in Ireland: Scots claimed that their national characteristics made them respectively the best warriors to police Ireland; governors to rule it; farmers to cultivate its land; and citizens to make Dublin's civic life prosperous and respectable. I argue that in doing so Scots were continuing to actively define for themselves an identity and role within the wider British empire as distinctive but vital contributors to imperial success. I suggest that this process, which facilitated the existence of overlapping Scottish and British identities, made it harder to define a version of Britishness which could incorporate Ireland as a whole.

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Aimée Colley has provided a constant loving presence away from the PhD, and offered of her skills as a graphic designer free-of-charge. Finally, my parents, James and Anne, have provided a variety of emotional and financial support across nine years of my higher education culminating at this point. Their love and acceptance of my decisions to pursue this PhD have meant so much.

Contents

Introduction

On 1 January 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland came into existence, Scotland and Ireland were now a part of the shared union state. But the impact of this new structure upon direct relations between the Scots and Irish has received limited scholarly attention. In Scotland, recurring debates on the theme of sectarianism have made the study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish migration to the industrial towns and cities of Scotland important for Scottish historians, yet little work has been done considering the reverse flow of Scots into nineteenth-century Ireland and the nature of their activities. From the Irish perspective, little consideration has been made of the role of a specifically Scottish presence in Ireland by a traditional historiography focussed on issues of land and nationalism too frequently concerned with England and 'the Saxon'. The place of Scots in shaping Irish identity is all too often limited to the role of Scots in the wars and plantation of seventeenth-century Ireland and the lasting resonance of these events in the island's north-east corner. This thesis aims to shed light on one hundred and twenty years of shared Scottish and Irish experience of the United Kingdom between 1801 and 1922 by focusing upon the activities of Scots on the island of Ireland. In doing so it will attempt to deepen our understanding of how Scottish and Irish national identities were constructed within the union state and on how interactions between the two groups in Ireland reflected their respective levels of engagement with the United Kingdom as a shared British political, economic, and social space. Here I will set out the conceptual and methodological context of this work, beginning with a discussion of the theme of identity and of the historiography of Scottish and Irish national identity more specifically. This shall be followed by an explanation of how this study can build upon existing work, principally comparative, concerning Scotland and Ireland, before setting out the specific areas of interest.

Aims and Methods

The aim of this study is to inform our understanding of how Scottishness, Irishness, and Britishness were constructed and operated within the union state. Most existing studies of Scottish or Irish engagement with Britishness and the union are premised upon the relationship of each respective 'periphery' with an implicitly English 'centre',

as Jim Smyth put it 'the so-called "Celtic Fringe" presupposes an English centre'.[1] There are severe limitations of the concept of a 'Celtic fringe' to describe the three non-English component nations of the UK construct. Hugh Kearney rightly pointed to the fact that religious divisions rather than racial ones have been the dominant forces in shaping distinct identities for the constituent parts of the United Kingdom.[2] Nevertheless, the assumption of comparable Celtic experiences of interaction with this shared English centre informs much modern historiography. Michael Hechter's thesis on 'internal colonialism' has been criticised for its seeming homogenisation of the 'Celtic fringe', but he has rightly identified that too little has been done to study the interactions of the various parts of this 'Celtic fringe'. Arguing that the peripheral Celtic nations could either 'band together as one solitary group' or 'compete for scarce resources at each other's expense', Hechter hypothesised that 'the actual relations between these peripheral groups varied between these poles in different circumstances.'[3] This is one area where the study of interactions between two of the so-called peripheral parts of the union state can be developed. Of course, the obvious parallels between Scotland and Ireland have not gone unattended to by historians. Alvin Jackson's *Two Unions* recently compared the experience of the Scottish and Irish unions. This is clearly premised on separate Scottish and Irish engagement and attachment to a shared, implicitly English, centre. Whilst there is consideration of how the 1707 union influenced that of 1801, of how challenges to union in Ireland affected the perception of the union in Scotland, and on the linkages of the broader unionist movement this work does not directly concern engagement between Scots and Irish as citizens of the same United Kingdom.[4] This analysis seeks to explore the spaces of interaction between Scots and Irish as common citizens of one union state. In doing so it will attempt to argue that the relative success and failure of Scottish and Irish incorporation within the union state cannot be understood wholly in terms of one periphery where pre-existing conditions and good execution from the English centre allowed union to succeed and another periphery where mismanagement and insurmountable difference saw union fail. Rather, the Scots and Irish should be

[1] Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom 1660-1800* (Harlow 2001), p. xii
[2] Hugh Kearney, 'Contested Ideas of Nationhood' in Kearney, *Ireland: Contested Ideas of Nationhood and History* (Cork 2007), pp.76-8
[3] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (Revised Edn. London 1999), p.347
[4] Alvin Jackson, *The Two Unions: Ireland, Scotland, and the survival of the United Kingdom, 1707-2007* (Oxford 2012), *passim*

considered as active participants in the process of union, and that Scots were especially active in attempting to structure Ireland's place within the post-1800 United Kingdom.

In addition to works specifically about the political experiences of the two countries, numerous comparative volumes have been produced over the past few decades dealing with common issues between Scotland and Ireland.[5] These all share broadly similar structures. The essays within each volume tend to be produced on aspects of Scottish history or Irish history and the comparison is left implicit or made explicit by editorial introductions or conclusions. Common issues throughout all of the volumes concerned the importance of land to both countries, emerging business links between the industrial regions of both countries, and conceptualising ideas of Celtic identity and how they shaped contemporary attitudes. Underpinning these studies was the belief that the relationship between the two countries was 'undoubtedly facilitated by political union from 1800 and strengthened by the strong flow of migratory labour from Ireland to Scotland in the middle decades of the century.'[6] T.M. Devine would later argue that Scotland's Irish population were, in conjunction with the seventeenth-century plantations of Scots in north-eastern Ireland, the key points of exchange which justified Irish-Scottish studies.[7] The key absence which must be emphasised is the lack of content directly relating to the experiences of the Scots in Ireland during the nineteenth century, as opposed to their seventeenth-century planter counterparts, or their contemporary Irish migrants to Scotland. This is also true of historiography which uses Ulster exclusively as the point of comparison with Scotland. Graham Walker's *Intimate Strangers* studies various aspects of what he terms the 'interesting, yet

[5] To briefly list them here: L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh 1978); T.M. Devine and David Dickson (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh 1983); Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds.) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh 1988); S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston, and R.J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity, and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600-1939* (Edinburgh 1995); Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* (Dublin 2005); R.J. Morris and Liam Kennedy (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland: Order and Disorder 1600-2000* (Edinburgh 2005); Frank Ferguson and James McConnel (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin 2009)

[6] Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck, 'Introduction' in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds.) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939*, p.8

[7] T.M. Devine, 'Making the Caledonian connection: the development of Irish-Scottish studies' in Liam McIlvanney and Ray Ryan (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland: Culture and Society, 1700-2000* (Dublin 2005), p.251

ambiguous and tense, relationship' between Scotland and Ulster, studying the Scottish heritage of the province's Presbyterian community, their contrasting relations with empire, and the migration of Ulster men and women to Scotland.[8] These same themes, seventeenth-century migration from Scotland to Ulster, later migration from Ulster to the west of Scotland, the role of the Scots and the 'Ulster Scots' in shared migrant destinations such as America and New Zealand, linguistic connections (both Gaelic and Scots), and the politics of nationalism and unionism fill a more recent collection.[9]

Irish migration to Scotland can be roughly separated into two distinct periods before and after the famine of the 1840s. Importantly, it is important to stress the development of concerted anti-Irish, or anti-Catholic, feeling in Scotland as a post-Famine development. Before the 1840s, there had been a tradition of seasonal Irish migration to Scotland as rural labourers, and off concentrated Irish migration to the new weaving and mining towns of the Scottish central belt, particularly Ayrshire and Lanarkshire.[10] During this period, the historical and geographic links between Scotland and Ulster meant that these Irish migrants were more likely to be Protestant than later Irish migrants.[11] Ian Meredith has argued that these Irish migrants were fairly easily integrated into the structures of the various Scottish Protestant churches, particularly Church of Ireland members into the Scottish Episcopal Church.[12] Martin J. Mitchell has argued that during this period, there was a lack of pervasive hostility to Irish migrants, with the growing temperance movement of the 1830s and 1840s even providing a shared focus for activity, whilst Devine has pointed to the relative ease with which pre-Famine Irish migrants could be assimilated into wider Scottish society.[13] Mitchell argues that outside of the mining industry, where Irish labour was

[8] Graham Walker, *Intimate Strangers: Political and Cultural Interactions Between Scotland and Ulster in Modern Times* (Edinburgh 1995), pp.17, 8-9. 12-13, 27-8, *passim.*
[9] William Kelly and John R. Young (eds.) *Ulster and Scotland: history, language, and identity* (Dublin 2004)
[10] T C Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (Glasgow 1969), pp.300, 401-7; Ian Meredith, *Lost and Forgotten: Irish Episcopalians in the West of Scotland 1817-1929* (Amazon CreateSpace 2017), pp.73-5; Martin J. Mitchell, 'Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland in the Nineteenth Century: Despised by Scottish workers and controlled by the church?' in Mitchell (ed.) *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh 2008), pp.3-4; T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1707-2007* (New Edn. London 2006) p.487;
[11] Graham Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland' in T.M. Devine (ed.) *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh 1991), pp.45, 49-51
[12] Meredith, *Lost and Forgotten*, pp.42-4, 76-82
[13] Mitchell, 'Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland', p.6; Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, pp.488-9

used to undercut Scottish industrial action, there was 'little economic rivalry' to provoke conflict between Scots and immigrant Irish, who largely filled unskilled labour requirements in expanding rail and iron works.[14] In the context of Irish mass migration during the famine years of the 1840s, Scotland received relatively small numbers, but their impact on Scotland was considerable. In 1851, Irish-born migrants made up 7.2% of Scotland's population, three times as high as England, and in absolute terms, the number of Irish-born people in Scotland remained steady to the end of the twentieth century.[15] The major difference for these later Irish migrants was twofold. Firstly, the Catholic church began to enforce stricter observance form its adherents, the Famine providing an opportunity to bring the number of priests and parishes to a level sufficient to cater for all Irish Catholics. This process carried over into Scotland, where the existing Scottish institutions were not geographically or numerically suited to cope with immigrant Irish Catholics. The strengthening of religious organisation and observance helped post-Famine Irish immigrants to develop an 'enclave mentality', preserving themselves as a distinct group within Scottish society.[16] Their numbers, combined with their obvious Catholicism helped contribute to the second developing theme of pervasive anti-Irish feeling in Scotland. Suspicion of Catholicism, and its Irish adherents, had existed in Scotland before this period, but now it was buttressed by developing racial theories which placed the Irish as a group apart, and usually as inferior.[17] Increasingly living in self-aware Irish migrant communities, the Irish in Scotland would also become politically active in Irish nationalist causes, Home Rule from the 1870s and latterly, in its struggle for independence, a further cause for contention amongst a largely unionist Scottish population.[18]

A further link engendered by these population movements was the growth of the Orange Order in Scotland. The order had originated as a largely establishment-Protestant Irish defence association that developed in the context of Irish sectarian

[14] Mitchell, 'Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland', pp.17-18; Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, pp.401-2
[15] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* pp.486-7
[16] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* pp.488—94; Tom Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland: In Search of Identity' in Devine (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society*, pp.20-5
[17] T.M. Devine, 'The Great Irish Famine and Scottish History' in Mitchell (ed.) *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, pp.29-30
[18] Devine, *The Scottish Nation,* pp.491-4; Gallagher, 'The Catholic Irish in Scotland', pp.24-5; Máirtín Ó Catháin, '"For we are the Brigton Derry Boys": social and political linkages between Derry and Glasgow in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' in Kelly and Young (eds.) *Ulster and Scotland*, pp.45-7

conflict in the 1790s. The links between Scotland and Ulster, and the movement of Irish Protestants to Scotland in the aftermath of the 1798 rising, and the continued Irish Protestant migration to the weaving towns of South-West Scotland, saw the formation of Orange lodges in Scotland.[19] Importantly, it is important to stress that the order's presence in Scotland was generally geographically concentrated in these weaving towns, and that membership was overwhelmingly working class and predominantly Irish. For most of the nineteenth century, the order in Scotland was comparatively weaker than in England, and there was general Scottish hostility to what was seen as the importation of Irish faction fighting.[20] However, the political context of Home Rule would, from the 1870s, see increasing Scottish participation, as the formerly disrespectable order was increasingly adopted as a legitimate forum for Scottish Protestant and unionist political feeling, particularly as an expression of solidarity with Ulster Protestants.[21] The order's comparative lack of success in Scotland during the nineteenth century should not obscure its relevance to Scots who found themselves in Ireland. For Scots in Belfast or Dublin, the order could offer associational benefits of business and political networks, whilst for potentially isolated Scots farmers, the Order could provide an avenue of solidarity and support in the context of land agitation of the later nineteenth century.[22] David Fitzpatrick has argued that the Order had a particular appeal to soldiers. For serving soldiers, lodge membership, with its militaristic trappings 'provided welcome relief from the real thing' and did so in a manner 'without any ostensibly subversive consequences.' The Order's simple emphasis on loyalty, and the prospects it offered for advancement within a status hierarchy other than the existing army ranks also appealed. This perhaps accounts for the importance that military lodges had in spreading Orangeism across the British Empire.[23] However, it should also be emphasised that the army consistently attempted to limit lodge membership within the ranks, though measures banning the membership of serving military personnel in civilian lodges were gradually relaxed as the nineteenth century progressed.[24]

[19] Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in 19th Century Scotland* (Edinburgh 1990), pp. 49-53, 103-5; Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', pp. 50-1
[20] McFarland, *Protestants First*, pp. 51-6, 106-7; Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', p.52
[21] McFarland, *Protestants First*, pp.70-9
[22] Jackson, *Two Unions,* pp.219-20
[23] David Fitzpatrick, 'Orangeism and Irish Military History, 1795-1920', *Irish Sword* Vol. 22 No.89 (2001), pp. 268-72
[24] Ibid., pp,274-6

It is important to emphasises that the linkages provided by migration and Orangeism between Scots and Irish varied across the period in question. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Irish assimilation within Scottish society remained relatively straightforward, and continued to remain so for most Protestant migrants. However, the increasing assertiveness of Catholic organisation, and the growth of national and nationalist associationism from the 1870s onwards created an environment in which Scots became increasingly aware of the divide between themselves and the Catholic Irish in their midst. Likewise, Orangeism in Scotland long remained the preserve of Protestant Irish migrants or returning military servicemen, only becoming respectable and discernibly Scottishin membership in the context of the politics of unionism and Home Rule. For Scots who found themselves in Ireland during the period we might tentatively suggest that awareness of these issues affected their view of Ireland and the Irish in several ways, reinforcing negative Irish stereotypes around violence and poverty, and strengthening a view of a denominationally-determined Irish identity.

The work of Kyle Hughes provides a notable exception to the general absence of historical study of Scots in Ireland during this period. Hughes's study of the Scots in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Belfast is of major importance to this study of Scots in Ireland as a whole. Hughes has lucidly grappled with the problematic themes of diaspora and identity as they relate to Ireland's north-eastern corner. Hughes's central premise is to show that relations between Ulster and Scotland were not as simple as might be though and that migrant Scots were not free to shape their own identity in isolation: 'Late nineteenth-century Belfast was surely the only major area of settlement where Scottish was a loaded term, and the only migrant destination where the concept of Scottishness was appropriated by, and tailored to suit, a host population's political agenda.'[25] Historical awareness of the origins of the Protestant population of Ulster in the seventeenth century plantations shaped ideas of identity in north-eastern Ireland and had become a vital part of the local politics of Unionism which used 'Scottishness to highlight Ulster's uniqueness and its detachment from the rest of Ireland'.[26] This created pre-existing discourses and expectations of Scottish identity which arriving Scots would have to fit into: 'Ulster had its own conception of

[25] Kyle Hughes, *The Scots in Late Victorian and Edwardian Belfast: A Study in Elite Migration* (Edinburgh 2013), p.9
[26] Ibid., p.6

Scottish identity and Scots as Scots were welcome only as they re-affirmed the Ulster-centric conception of what a Scot should be.'[27] Many of Hughes's areas of study reflect this distinctive Belfast context for incoming Scots: shipbuilding and textile industries interlinked to those of Scotland; the personnel and ideological connections between Scottish and Ulster Presbyterians; and the use of Scottish identity to ideologically buttress Ulster Unionism. Hughes does raise points of relevance for the wider study of Scots in Ireland. Firstly, he is sceptical that 'diaspora' is a useful means of conceptualising Scottish experience in north-eastern Ireland, arguing that its proximity and similarity to Scotland, combined with large flows of return migration between the two places blurred the lines of identity and that most Scots in Belfast did not behave as a discrete ethnic group.[28] Secondly, Hughes highlights how concepts of Britishness and Imperial identity acted upon the discourse of identity within Ulster, pointing out that whilst Scots were able to use the British empire as a vehicle for maintaining national distinctiveness within it, for Ulster Unionists empire was increasingly seen as a bulwark of solidarity in the face of separatist Irish nationalism.[29] This study of Scots throughout Ireland during the longer period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can draw important lessons from the more temporally and spatially limited work of Hughes. The rhetorical image of Ulster as a meeting ground or halfway point between Scottish and Irish identity played a key role in shaping the discourse of identity within the United Kingdom state. Ulster's insistence on its own distinctiveness was also a barrier to those Scots in Irish government who sought either to more fully integrate Ireland as a whole within the UK or to reposition the island via Home Rule into an officially quasi-federal or quasi-imperial sphere. By the early twentieth century, the threat of Irish Home Rule had led to the creation of a unionist Ulster identity which at times invoked its own selective interpretation of Scottishness. Yet it is important to remember that Scots perceived their own identity in a more varied and complex manner than the politically useful forms developed by Ulster Unionists.

Outside of Ulster, there has been little historical consideration on Scottish involvement in Ireland during the nineteenth-century. This study aims to fill that gap whilst also addressing the problem of purely comparative approaches, the failings of adopting a

[27] Ibid., p.191
[28] Ibid., pp.15-17
[29] Ibid., pp.17-21

'static framework' which ignores the interrelationship between the objects of comparison. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman have emphasised the need to move beyond mere comparison towards examination of points of contact and interchange between two subjects of study.[30] In the specific case of Scotland and Ireland, the study of the interactions between the Scots and Irish in Ireland has the advantage of recognising that the articulation and definition of national identity within the union state was an ongoing discursive process. It recognises that Scotland and Ireland were dynamic parts of a shared union and were not just separate but comparable additions to an English/British centre. The four themes that will be considered here are land, the military, Irish governance and administration, and finally the study of certain Scots in urban Ireland, predominantly Dublin, that I have chosen to call 'civic Scots'. In terms of exploring interactions between the two groups and articulations of national identities, these areas each offer complementary features and contexts. They cover a wide range of social and economic contexts and address relationships and interactions both framed by the official state, and those on a more private and public basis. Each has been chosen because it features in some way in the traditionally perceived ideas of nationality for both groups during the period. A more detailed discussion of the historiography of national identity within the UK will hopefully serve to emphasise these features.

National Identities in the United Kingdom

Within British and Irish history, the subject of identity perhaps has a special resonance given developments during the late twentieth century and during these early years of the twenty-first. The future of the six counties of Northern Ireland has provoked violence on both sides of the border. Devolution has, in Scotland, produced the 2014 referendum on whether or not Scotland should seek independence; a debate many wish to reopen, if ever it was closed, in light of the recent vote to withdraw from the European Union. Increasingly the narrative of a strengthening nationalist politics, be that in the shape of Sinn Fein's calls for a united Ireland, the arguments for an independent Scottish state, or in the stubborn unionism of the Democratic Unionist

[30] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity' in *History in Theory 45:1* (2006), pp.33-8

Party, has prompted numerous studies of how different national identities have existed within and influenced the development of the union state.

Peter Mandler, in his critique of how British historians have used concepts of identity and identification, briefly summarises what he terms the 'historians' folk wisdom' of national identity: that individuals have numerous identities which are context dependent and that these are formed in a binary opposition to a real or imagined 'other', but that national identity, for reasons to do with the development of the modern state became the 'trump identity' for most individuals.[31] For Mandler, historical study of individual identity formation is too isolated from the study of individual identity construction within the social sciences, but concedes that historians have important contributions to make in terms of the public presentation of group identities, and in terms of understanding the contemporary cultural relevance of the symbols and experiences invoked to support and propagate these group identities.[32] In doing so, it will be important to recognise that there is no 'single and distinctive national identity which is lying out there just waiting to be discovered.'[33] The work of Steve Reicher and Nick Hopkins on national identity has sought to emphasise the malleability of most national identities, and that the socio-political function of any given national identity at any given moment is not as a description of 'being' but as part of projects of 'becoming': 'there are multiple and competing definitions of national identity and that these are as much orientated to sustaining different projects for the future as to describing the present state of the nation.'[34] They argue that malleability and ambiguity is crucial to any successful national identity, to maximise the potential size of the national 'ingroup', but that as a result the shared symbols and motifs of an identity can become subject to competing claims and interpretations.[35] This reflects Jonathan Hearn's assessment that the enduring relevance of national identities as social categories rests upon their 'ability to mean different things to different people, whilst at the same time suggesting a unified identity.'[36] These ideas of national identity as

[31] Peter Mandler, 'What is "national identity"? Definitions and applications in modern British historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, 3:2 (2006) p.272
[32] Ibid., pp.275-6
[33] Steve Reicher and Nick Hopkins, *Self and Nation: Categorisation, Contestation and Mobilisation* (London 2001), p.vii
[34] Ibid., p.ix
[35] Ibid., p.130
[36] Jonathan Hearn, *Claiming Scotland*: *National Identity and Liberal Culture* (Edinburgh 2000), pp.9-10

constructed, normative, and perpetually subject to competing articulations and interpretations largely inform how this study will operate. Throughout it will attempt to focus on how ideas and meanings of Scottishness, Irishness, and Britishness were conceived of and, importantly, why and how these were deployed in the context of Scottish activity in Ireland.

Though not explicitly aimed at any particular historian, Mandler's summation of how historians treat national identity seems to have in mind Linda Colley's thesis of the formation of British identity during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though originally presented in 1992, Colley's arguments for a British identity constructed on the basis of a shared Protestantism, reinforced by ongoing conflict with France as the representative of a despotic, Catholic, 'other' remains influential.[37] Crucially Colley recognised that the development of a conscious Britishness among the inhabitants of Great Britain did not crowd out other identities, be they those of the constituent parts of the British union, England, Scotland, Wales, or other more localised regional identities. In this, other historians have largely agreed, Paul Ward has suggested that the persistence of British identity is largely the result of it having 'been compatible with a huge variety of other identities', his argument that its flexibility was its strength complements some of the general arguments considered about national identities above.[38] Colley's treatment of Ireland, within the union state from 1801, is perhaps haphazard, incorporating Anglo-Irish figures such as the Duke of Wellington, but largely conceding that the majority of rural, Catholic, Ireland lay outside of the bounds of Britishness as it had been constructed up to the point of that union. Colley herself conceded that the concession of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 'unavoidably compromised Protestantism's value as a national cement' for the union state, but she does properly situate Emancipation within its proper context of further religious and political reform in the United Kingdom, arguing that the collection of constitutional changes happening in the 1820s and 1830s, the extension of political rights to dissenters and Catholics, parliamentary reform, and the abolition of slavery, together were representative of a wider debate within society of 'different ideas about what constituted Britishness.'[39] Most historians would probably agree, whether they

[37] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London 1992), pp.366-8
[38] Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (London 2004), pp.3-5
[39] Colley, *Britons*, pp.373, 358-363

find Colley's argument of a 'debate' credible or not, that ultimately the definition of Britishness forged by the inhabitants of Great Britain prior to the Irish union largely persisted intact as their preferred method of identification with the new state formation of the United Kingdom. As Jackson has put it 'the British state expanded, while the definition of its contingent identity remained the same'; a Britishness which 'by definition primarily embraced only one of the two main islands which, from 1800 to 1921, constituted the United Kingdom'.[40] When considering the interaction between Scots and Irish within the union state, we should then be aware that this was an interaction between one group, the Scots, who had been active participants in the construction of Britishness, and another, the Irish, who seemingly remained outside of that category, despite their shared, if originally unequal, citizenship of the union state.

If 'Britishness' has been accepted as rather ambiguous and nebulous, perhaps to its own strength, what of the national identities of the component parts of the union? It is important to recognise that discourses upon nationality within the United Kingdom throughout the nineteenth century acknowledged the interplay between English, Scottish, and Irish identities, 'there being definitely three actors on the stage', and that Irish were frequently 'evaluated against the yardstick of the Scottish'.[41]Again, it is worth emphasising the competing versions of supposedly coherent national identities.[42] Modern conceptions of Scottishness, according to Jonathan Hearn 'hangs in a constellation of overlapping and interpenetrating identities', citing 'British, Celtic, (and) European' as some examples.[43] However, historical conceptions of Scottish identity within the union have largely followed similar lines, focussing on Scotland's distinctive religious and legal institutions and the opportunities offered through the British imperial connection. For the Scotland which entered the union in 1707, it was arguably religion which provided the strongest collective sense of Scottish difference from the rest of Great Britain. Alistair Mutch argues that the 'myth of Presbyterian independence, associated with democracy, literacy, liberty, and progress' was a defining feature of Scottishness up to the mid-nineteenth century, when this was challenged by growing

[40] Jackson, *Two Unions*, pp.145-6, 342
[41] Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France 1750-1914* (Cambridge 2002), pp.202, 225-6
[42] For example, Hugh Kearney has suggested that there were at least three, and possibly more, rhetorically and geographically distinct 'Scotlands' in the nineteenth-century, Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (2nd Ed. Cambridge 2006), p.242
[43] Hearn, *Claiming Scotland*, p.11

Celtic Romanticism.[44] This line of reasoning reflects broader arguments made by other historians in connection to the importance of religion to the strength of national identities within the British state.[45] By 1800, even Scottish Catholicism might be seen within this wider Presbyterian culture. Comparatively few and geographically concentrated in the Highlands and northeast Scotland, Scotland's Catholics enjoyed practical religious freedom long before the passage of relief legislation in the 1790s, and 'whether English-speaking in the Lowlands, or Gaelic-speaking in the Highlands were alike in that they reflected the social and political aspirations of their Protestant neighbours.'[46] Large-scale migration from Ireland in the early and mid-nineteenth century would change this demographic picture and the nature of Scottish Catholicism, with Scottish Catholics struggling to maintain their institutional dependence from Irish encroachment.[47] Institutional struggles within Scottish Catholicism were eclipsed by splits within the established Kirk from the 1840s onwards. If Scottish Presbyterianism had been 'hopelessly fractured' by the Disruption of 1843, when an estimated forty percent of clerics and a third of congregations left the Church of Scotland, this should not mask the shared importance of a shift towards evangelism and proselytization amongst all of Scotland's Protestant denominations.[48] Arguably this reflected a shared Scottish zeal for the pursuit of social and moral improvement.

The Scottish Kirk, despite schism and division, was one of three key independent institutions, along with the legal system and education system retained by Scotland following the union and these have traditionally been cited as key vessels for a continuing distinct Scottish identity.[49] Together they help define the Scottish civil society which is so important for Graeme Morton in his work on *Unionist Nationalism*. Though often reduced to cursory referencing to acknowledge how Scottishness could

[44] Alistair Mutch, *Religion and national identity: governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh 2016), p.184-5
[45] See for example Jonathan Clark, 'Restoration and Reform, 1660-1832', p.413 and William D. Rubenstein, 'The World Hegemony: The Long Nineteenth Century', pp.484, 506-7 in Jonathan Clark (ed.), *A World by Itself: A History of the British Isles* (London 2010); Colley, *Britons*, p. 369
[46] David McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878' in David McRoberts (ed.), *Modern Scottish Catholicism 1878-1978* (Glasgow 1979), p.3; Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789-1829* (Edinburgh 1983), pp.12-13, 20-2, 86-96, 245-6
[47] McRoberts, 'The Restoration of the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy in 1878', pp.9-15 ; Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland,* p.252
[48] Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, pp.374-9
[49] Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh 2001), pp.58-60

exist within a wider sense of Britishness, Morton's argument deserves more scholarly attention. Specifically, Morton argues that the continued existence of a separate Scottish civil society allowed Scottish elites to maintain social and economic control, and that articulating Scottish identity was part of their continued efforts to legitimise their place of power between individuals and the union state.[50] This same argument appears in a slightly different form in Robert Anderson's analysis of education in Victorian Scotland. As one of the key markers of Scottish institutional independence with the union state, the 'myth' of a distinctly 'democratic' and meritocratic Scottish educational system, became an important part of Scottish national self-identification. If the reality was somewhat different, with a school system increasingly divided by class and an urban-rural divide, the myth of an inclusive, democratic, distinctively Scottish educational system did, Anderson argues, provide an important rhetorical device for Scottish elites to justify their position in civil society by maintaining the illusion of social mobility.[51]

If a sense of separate Scottishness had been preserved since the union by independent institutions, then the development in the nineteenth century of racial theory would be used by some as another basis for the distinctiveness of a Scottish nation. Constructions of race were again open-ended and ambiguous allowing Scots to position themselves according to their situation, emphasising an ancient cultural Celticism or their Anglo-Saxon institutions as most suited them.[52] Murray Pittock recognises nineteenth-century perceptions of a Scottish 'Celtic Britishness' exemplified 'in the context of popular culture, royal iconography, and military achievement', emphasising that the racial construction of Scottish identity within Britain as Celtic or Saxon as required or a mixture of the two.[53] Fundamental to these ideas was the participation of Scots within the wider framework of the British empire. Not only did the empire expose the inhabitants of the UK to a much wider variety of peoples to include within a developing racial hierarchy, but imperial service of various

[50] Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830-1860* (Cambridge 1989), p.193, *passim.*
[51] R.D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford 1983), pp.1-2, 336-44, *passim.*
[52] See for example Colin Kidd, 'Race, empire, and the limits of nineteenth century Scottish nationhood' in *Historical Journal 46:4* (2003), pp.873-892
[53] Ibid., p.43-5, pp.54-6

forms allowed Scots to articulate a distinctive identity based on their expertise at certain imperial functions.

The importance of the perceived Scottish military contribution to the shared British Empire to conceptions of Scottish identity has been well covered by historians. Edward Spiers, Stuart Allan, and Allan Carswell are among recent scholars who have dealt specifically with this topic, and common considerations are the visibility and distinctiveness of the dress of Scottish regiments, alongside well publicised Scottish participation in key imperial and global conflicts.[54] This is by now a well-accepted argument, featuring in most Scottish military history and more general discussions of Scottish identity, that the visible Scottish contribution to British imperial expansion and security helped to facilitate a confident Scottish identity which remained comfortable with broader British connotations. Robert Clyde has traced the 'rehabilitation' of the Scottish highlander as model imperial soldier following the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century, arguing that the highland regiments came to be seen as the 'chief defenders' of Britain and its values.[55] It offers an example of how Scots could engage with racial identity, these warrior Celts were now model participants within the Anglo-Saxon imperial project. Andrew MacKillop has sought to demonstrate that the martial image of the Highland soldier was, by the late eighteenth century, largely the result of a 'remarkably inaccurate and increasingly anachronistic' view of Highland society, which saw the development of 'the Lowland and English image of the Gael as an enthusiastic British warrior.' In reality, he argued, Highland recruitment reflected a desire for access to the financial rewards of imperial expansion and patronage on behalf of Highland landlords, and a recognition that Britain's commercial wealth could more readily bare the loss of population from the less productive Highland economy than it could England or the Scottish Lowlands. For MacKillop this represented a clash between the 'twin British "patriotisms"' of improvement and recruitment. The eventual orientation of the Highlander's image to martial Gael was accompanied by a corresponding acceptance of Highland difference, as unimproved and culturally

[54] Most recently E.M. Spiers, 'Scots and the Wars of Empire' in E.M. Spiers, J.A. Crang, and M.J. Strickland (eds.) *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh 2012), p.458, 578; Stuart Allan and Allan Carswell *The Thin Red Line: War, Empire and Visions of Scotland* (Edinburgh 2005), p.20-3
[55] Robert Clyde *From rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1830* (Phantassie 1995), p.186

distinct from the rest of 'North Britain'.[56] Whatever the reality of Highland engagement with the British army and Britishness during the eighteenth century, it remains important that the popular image of a distinctive Highland contribution to empire became well established within Scotland and the wider British empire. During the nineteenth century this image would be an important aspect of Scottish engagement with the imperial project. The failure of 'improvement' in the Highlands, and the corresponding acceptance and encouragement of a distinctive imperial role might also be borne in mind during discussion of Irish land issues later in this thesis.

Aside from their public military roles, Scots migration to various constituent parts of the Empire can also inform this study. There have been several recent attempts to analyse the construction of Scottish identity outside of Scotland through the examination of Scottish associational culture. Tanja Bueltman, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton's *Ties of Bluid* and Angela McCarthy's *A Global Clan* covered similar themes.[57] These studies highlight the essentially middle-class nature of such societies within the Victorian and Edwardian UK and its empire, and emphasise the common functions they served, as vehicles for advancing careers and businesses, facilitating intermarriage, and the promotion of identity across generations. Ideas of diaspora are relevant to the study of Scots in Ireland, as the means by which Scots articulated their identity in Ireland can illuminate how Scots saw themselves and their host location. The study of Scottish diaspora is now well developed, but the study of the impact of Scots around the world is not new. Gordon Donaldson's *The Scots Overseas* (1966) effectively established the geographic span of such studies, focussing on the 'white' dominions of the British Empire and the USA.[58] The volume *The Scots Abroad*, edited by R.A. Cage, contained many features which remain the mainstay of current diaspora studies, namely the focus on certain locations, principally North America, South Africa, India, and Oceania; and on certain aspects of Scottish involvement, in industry, finance, land reform, and enterprise.[59] Notable is Cage's own contribution concerning Scots in England, and whilst it might not be wise to adopt Cage's stated aim of being

[56] Andrew MacKilop, *'More Fruitful than the Soil': Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (Phantassie 2000), pp.41-2, 75-6, 208-9, 215-24
[57] Tanja Bueltman, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton (eds.), *Ties of Bluid, Kin and Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph 2009); Angela McCarthy (ed.) *global clan: Scottish migrant networks and identities since the eighteenth century* (London 2006)
[58] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London 1966)
[59] R.A. Cage (ed.), *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise 1750-1914* (London 1985)

'unashamedly *pro* Scots', there is much to be taken from his analysis of the nature of Scottish business networks in England that is relevant to Ireland. This tendency of Scots to form discrete commercial networks is emphasised by others: David Macmillan highlights the 'clannishness' of Scots in Canada; Eric Richards on Scottish employment networks in Australia; and James Parker on the Scottish hold on merchant houses in India.[60] The roles of Scots in land management and improvement in Australia and New Zealand and their influence within financial and banking circles in India and Canada were also highlighted, and serve as important reminders of the wider context in which Scots undertook such activities in Ireland. [61] Angela McCarthy makes the case for viewing Scottish networks and associations as a means to 'guard the image' of the Scots, and lists again the 'alleged national characteristics' that Scots claimed for themselves including 'martial valour, entrepreneurial dynamism, missionary endeavour, and administrative talent, were conveyed through the empire as distinctively Scottish.' MacKenzie assesses the role of Scots on shaping land within the empire and the reputation Scots acquired for 'coping with marginal lands', enshrining a Scottish self-image as 'ideal colonists on frontiers and on low-value marginal lands.' T.M Devine and John M. MacKenzie reiterate the impact of Scots within the financial and business world and note the Scottish tendency to employ and do business with one another.[62] The identification of such roles as being peculiarly Scottish is of immediate relevance to the types of Scottish activity that will be examined in Ireland, as we examine Scots roles within Irish commerce, agriculture, and government. Scottish national distinctiveness in the nineteenth-century was formed around key institutions, kirk, law, and education, and supplemented by a clear and visible role in the common union project of empire. In such roles Scots demonstrated a hybrid racial identity drawing upon ideas of Celtic or Anglo-Saxon influences as best fitted. Ultimately, historians have tended to portray Scottish national identity as comfortable within and complementary to a shared British political and cultural space.

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[60] R.A. Cage, 'The Scots in England', p.30-2; David S Macmillan 'Scottish Enterprise and Influences in Canada', p.49; Eric Richards, 'Australia and the Scottish Connection 1788-1914', p.126-7; and James Parker 'Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914', p.217 all in Cage (ed.) *The Scots Abroad*

[61] Tom Brooking, '"Tam McCanny and the Kitty Clydeside"- The Scots in New Zealand', p.177; Macmillan 'Scottish Enterprise', p.74; Richards 'Australia and the Scottish Connection', p147-9.; Parker, 'Scottish Enterprise in India', p.215 all in Cage (ed.) *The Scots Abroad*

[62] Angela McCarthy, 'Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identites in the British Empire since the Nineteenth Century',pp.123, 137 ; MacKenzie, 'Scots and the environment of Empire, p.171-2; Devine and MacKenzie, 'Scots in the Imperial Economy', p.242 all in John M. Mackenzie and T.M. Devine (eds.) *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford 2011)

MacKenzie and Devine have stressed the active role that Scots played in expanding and maintaining this space means that '"victimhood" has always been an inadequate concept when considering the Scottish relationship with the British Empire.'[63]

Similar themes, religion, race, empire, and diaspora, are also crucial to traditional assessments of Irish identity and engagement with the union state. Patrick O'Farrell's *England and Ireland since 1800* justified using the terminology of England and the English as 'the usual Irish concept of the power that ruled them and with which they were in conflict was that of "England" and the "English", rather than that of "Britain" and the "British"; it was an image into which the Scots and Welsh intruded very little.'[64] That the Scots did challenge this alleged English monopoly on Irish antagonism is something which will be strongly argued through this theses, yet O'Farrell's analysis of the mutually irreconcilable images that the English/British and Irish developed of one another is usually insightful and rewarding for this project.[65] O'Farrell's assessment that 'there was little if any appreciation that the formality of inclusion in the United Kingdom might have altered the status of Ireland as "other"- subject, and essentially foreign' holds relevance for the activities of Scots who had achieved a greater degree of inclusion in first the British and then UK state. British images of the Irish were, according to Michael de Nie, largely based upon older stereotypes of class, and religion, and drew increasingly on the developing doctrines of race. The 'Irish' viewed from Britain, were Celtic, Catholic, peasants.[66] De Nie argues that whilst such negative identifications were always hierarchical in nature, placing Britishness above Irishness, there was at the outset of union a hope that the Irish were sufficiently similar to be improved and to be made British. This impulse received a boost after the famine years of the 1840s, but eventually, in the shape of Conservative acquiescence to land purchase and in Liberal acceptance of Home Rule, there was a general acceptance that 'the Irish could never be British.'[67] Whilst this perhaps offers a good account of the identification of Irishness by the British, it does not adequately account for self-identified Irishness of the people of Ireland. The union, many have argued, marked a

[63] MacKenzie and Devine, 'Introduction' in Mackenzie and Devine (eds.) *Scotland and the British Empire*, pp.2-4
[64] Patrick O'Farrel, *England and Ireland Since 1800* (Oxford 1975), p.ii
[65] Ibid., *passim*, pp.20-1
[66] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press 1798-1882* (London 2004), pp.3-24, *passim*
[67] Ibid., pp. 267-77

crucial shift in attitudes to Irishness among the island's population. For Ireland's Catholic population, the model outlined by de Nie largely rings true. Richard English has argued that the failure of union to simultaneously address Catholic legal disabilities set the stage for 'a powerful new form of Irish nationalism' based upon Catholic popular grievances.[68] English and Kevin Whelan both identify the O'Connellite campaigns for Catholic Emancipation as the key marker of this development. The mass politics of O'Connel required 'the self-image of the emergent Catholic nation' and in doing so created a Catholic version of Irishness which 'stressed confessional allegiance as the prime ingredient of national identity.'[69] Even if O'Connell himself sought to build a broad coalition across confessional lines, the fact that his movement was perceived as Catholic by both its members and opponents fixed the image of an active Catholic nation.[70] Subsequent battles over O'Connell's legacy saw the view of him as a campaigner for general civic reform, incorporating the tithe war of the 1830s, his campaigns to repeal the union, and which viewed emancipation as fulfilment universal equality under the law, gradually overshadowed by the view of him as the 'Liberator' of Ireland's Catholics only.[71] Cian T. McMahon has shown how Irishness embraced the racial discourse developing from the mid-nineteenth-century, charting the construction of a national narrative 'situating the Celts in a timeless struggle for freedom from their Saxon neighbours.' This was accompanied by the growth of ideas which sought to emphasise the relationship between the Irish people and their native land, of an Irish 'collective soul' which was 'rooted in the natural environment they shared.'[72] In this respect Ireland was similar to other European examples, where developing national identities tended to be 'concerned with justifying the possession of land', and where 'the lords of the soil' were frequently presented as being of different origin or nature to the rest of the population. As V.R. Comerford has argued, the exclusion of the largely Protestant aristocracy from the 'reimagined' Irish nation was complete by the mid-to-late nineteenth century.[73]

[68] Richard English, *Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland* (London 2006), p.118
[69] Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity* (Cork 1996), p.152-3; English, *Irish Freedom*, pp.137-8
[70] Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'The Impact of O'Connell, 1815-1850' in James Kelly (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Ireland Vol. III, 1730-1880* (Cambridge 2018), pp.123-4
[71] Hugh Kearney, '1875: Faith or Fatherland? The Contested Symbolism of Irish Nationalism' in Kearney, *Ireland: Contested Ideas of Nationalism and History*, pp.94-5
[72] Cian T McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation and the Popular Press, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill, NC 2015), pp.11-2, 24-5
[73] V.R. Comerford, *Ireland* (London 2003), pp.8-10

Nineteenth-century Irish nationalists increasingly monopolised claims to a narrow Irish identity based on the cultural markers of rurality and Catholicism, their supporters, to the exclusion of other Irish identities.

These other Irish identities might be crudely split into the Protestant Irish Ascendancy which entered the Union, and a reactionary Ulster identity which emerged in response to the growth of the above nationalist Irish identity. The Irish parliament ended by the act of union was an institution of the Anglo-Irish Protestant establishment. Going into the 1790s, it appeared that this governing class had successfully transformed its self-image from the 'English interest' of the seventeenth century, into that of the 'Irish nation'.[74] Developing political autonomy, and increasing interest in Gaelic antiquarianism, had during the later eighteenth century seen this Protestant Irish nation reach its peak of cultural confidence.[75] The debates within Irish antiquarianism had centred on the historic relationship between Ireland and civilization. Against those who argued that ancient Gaelic Ireland had possessed a classical civilisation to rival Greece and Rome, were pitted the largely ascendancy minds who saw Irish civilization as the result of settlement by peoples from the British mainland.[76] Importantly the Ascendancy were engaged in an intellectual battle for control of Irish identity, centred on claims to cultural vibrancy. Indeed, Oliver MacDonagh has argued that it was the cultural efforts of Protestant Anglo-Ireland, 'self-consciously arriviste' yet which 'profoundly and confidently asserted its identity… derived from the sea-made isolation', which had laid the foundations for 'the idea of a nation coterminous with the Irish island.'[77] The events of 1798, when the supposedly secular republican rebellion of United Ireland transformed in many areas into sectarian violence shattered this confidence. These events challenged existing ideas of what it meant to be Irish and ultimately 'shifted the question from one of civility to one of ethnicity'.[78] In reconciling themselves to union, in choosing 'empire' over their existing parliament as the best way to safeguard their rights as a religious and socio-economic class, Protestant

[74] Smyth, *Making of the United Kingdom*, p.136
[75] Ian McBride, '"The common name of Irishman": Protestantism and patriotism in eighteenth century Ireland' in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland 1750-1850* (London 1998), pp.246-8
[76] Michael Brown and Lesa Ní Mhunghaile, 'Enlightenment and Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth-Century' in Kelly (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Ireland Vol. III*, pp.393-6
[77] Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind: A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780-1980* (Paperback Edition, London 1985), pp.15-17
[78] Brown and Ní Mhunghaile, 'Enlightenment and Antiquarianism', p.404

Ireland, Kevin Whelan has argued 'effectively ceded the concept of the nation to Irish Catholics.'[79] For such Protestants, 'cleaving to Ireland as a place, not a nation' would become the fixed state of mind which would endure until the eventual creation of the Free State. [80] If Anglo-Ireland was content to become 'outer Britons' then their conception of an Irish nation with natural boundaries, the sea, provided the enduring 'article of faith' for the new Irish nation.[81] It would be this predominantly rural, Catholic, Irish nation which would be the source of nineteenth century Irish nationalism. If rural Catholic Ireland was in the process of claiming the mantle of Irish nationhood, and the Anglo-Irish ascendancy was struggling to adapt to an imperial Britishness, the Protestants of the more industrial north-eastern corner of Ireland experienced a different journey.[82] More successful in its participation within the industrialisation of the union state, more numerous and geographically concentrated than Ascendancy Ireland, Protestant Ulster demonstrated an Irish engagement with union which was largely active and positive. Only from the 1880s onwards, as organised Irish nationalism inched closer to the achievement of Home Rule, did these Irishmen begin to articulate and build a distinct separate national identity as Ulstermen. The province of Ulster, rather than the island as a whole, marked the only historic territory over which any culturally distinct grouping of these protestant unionists could conceivably lay legitimate claim as a national territory.

This is a necessarily brief and simplified overview of the traditional historiography of Irish national identity under the union. The development of a distinctly Catholic Irish nation became the focus of political nationalists, to the exclusion of Anglo-Irish Irishness and the increasingly defined Ulster-ness of the province's Presbyterians from the late-nineteenth century. Together with the narrative of Scottish national identity, it seems to reinforce Colley's arguments about Britishness, that ultimately the Protestant Scots were able to build an identity compatible with and complementary to their place within the union state, whilst Catholic Ireland looked to secure a future outside of the precise forms of union which existed. Undoubtedly, religion is an important part of

[79] Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty*, p.140; McBride, '"The common name of Irishman"', p.261
[80] Ian D'Alton, '"No Country?": Protestant "Belonging" in Independent Ireland, 1922-49' in Ian D'Alton and Ida Milne (eds.), *Protestant and Irish: The minority's search for a place in independent Ireland* (Cork 2019), p.20
[81] MacDonagh, *States of Mind*, p.17
[82] Smyth, *Making of the United Kingdom*, p.144

explaining the eventual exit of the southern Irish counties from, and the continued presence of Scotland and Northern Ireland in, the UK (though neither of these outcomes should be treated as inevitable). However, I believe a more detailed discussion is needed of the nature of national identity, nations, and nationalism which takes into account the roles they served for society. In doing so, I will attempt to emphasise that the nation is a modern concept, with all the normative and intellectual baggage that this implies, and that ideas of modernity were key in shaping these national identities relative to the union state.

Modernity: Nations, Nationalism, and the Scottish Enlightenment

It is important to understand the specific nineteenth century context of the ideas of nation, especially given that this study straddles the period in which these ideas took on a recognisably modern form. The development of nations and nationalisms reflect a thoroughly modern way of understanding the world and a peculiar Scottish relationship with modernity shaped the development of Scottish national identity and its deployment in Ireland.

Ernest Gellner has situated the development of ideas of nation and nationalism as a reaction to modernity. The idea of a discrete and distinct people, the nation, requiring a shared political structure, the state, arose in Europe as a means coping with the transition from rural-agrarian to urban-industrial social relations.[83] Nationalism should be understood as political activity which seeks to ensure that the borders of the modern state and the identified nation are one and the same. Whilst nationalism presupposes the existence of a nation, acknowledging the existence of a distinct nation does not require a corresponding political movement for statehood.[84] As a historian, John Breuilly developed this idea with reference to more specific historic examples. Breuilly cites the development of nationalism as a means for emerging bourgeois elites to reform older monarchical states, such as France, or by appealing to older ideas of historical territoriality to contest the control of 'illiberal' outsider monarchies, such as the cases of Italy and Poland. In the latter cases, Breuilly identifies as crucial in the development of a distinctly political nationalism in 'opposition to the modernising state',

[83] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford 1983), pp.39-55
[84] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp.1-6; John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester 1982), pp.1-3

particularly if that state was threatening privileged elites. This argument posits that the growing power of the modern nation state necessarily came at the expense of local interest groups who had previously been intermediaries between the population and dynastic states. [85]

These themes have immediate relevance for both versions for Scottish and Irish national identity that we have discussed. Both Scotland and Ireland maintained their own separate laws and institutions which pre-dated their entry into the United Kingdom state. Participation within the politics of the common UK state was not determined purely on national identity and origin, however, but also in terms of religion, gender, and ownership of property. There are important differences between Scotland and Ireland however. Accepting the arguments of Morton and Anderson outlined above, it might be accepted that whilst Scottish elites had a use for promoting ideas of nation to buttress their socio-economic leadership in an industrialising and urbanising society, they had no need to resort to a political state-seeking nationalism as the structure of the union state allowed them to maintain control of key institutions within Scotland.[86] Furthermore, the political structures of union were sufficiently established by the full onset of this economic transition so that the ideas of Scottish nationhood being developed and deployed emerged within the context of a wider British union. The existence of a Scottish nation in the minds of Scots did not predispose them to a corresponding Scottish nationalism, the British union and its empire served the interests of key Scottish elites and interest groups.

In the Irish case, it might be seen that nationalist opposition to the state came first from those groups excluded from full access to its resources, Irish Catholics, rather than from any squeezed local elite. As we have seen, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy embraced the modern union state as the protector of their socio-economic privilege. Irish institutions were largely the imposition of the UK state upon Ireland, the office of Lord Lieutenant and wider 'Castle' government. Whilst these institutions were accessible to parts of Protestant Ireland, they largely excluded the nascent Catholic Irish nation. Indeed, in line with Whelan's argument discussed above, this Irish nation

[85] Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, pp.44-5, 88, 115-16
[86] See above, pp.15-16

began to articulate its separate national identity and nationalism in opposition to these institutions and the common-state under O'Connell. If we should rightly eschew majority rural Catholic Ireland the label of 'privileged' upon the commencement of union, it should be remembered that the leadership of Irish nationalist movements largely came from relatively privileged classes, legal professionals, landowners, journalists, or larger farmers. The Irish nation and its corresponding nationalism were largely a project of these Irish Catholic middling-groups, especially in the post-Famine period. We have already seen MacDonagh's arguments that the idea of a sea-bounded Irish nation with territorial claim to the entire island of Ireland had developed before 1800. The nineteenth century would see this historical territoriality adopted by Catholic Ireland in the search for their own political institutions. This process of identity building was important for the development of an Irish nationalism, as defined by Breuilly: a belief in a well-defined national grouping seeking political sovereignty over a recognised historic territory. John Hutchinson has attempted to further distinguish narrow 'political nationalism', concerned with state autonomy, and a broader 'cultural nationalism' in the Irish context, which he defines as 'a continuously evolving solidarity of competing groups of individuals, spontaneously integrated by their love of Ireland'. Hutchinson identifies the continued existence and reawakening of a forward looking Irish cultural identity which sought to rationalise and modernise Ireland so that it might take its proper place among the nations of the world, which he traces from the United Irishmen of the 1790s onwards to Arthur Griffiths and D.P. Moran in the 1890s and 1900s. He argues that the Gaelic revival of the late nineteenth century marked a turning point in the transition of this largely secular rational cultural nationalism towards a 'neo-traditionalist rural populism'. Growing concern within the Catholic Church towards signs of secularisation in Irish society and the insecurity of Irish Catholic elites within the British state prompted both groups to 'reidentify' with the 'traditional community' of rural Ireland. This effectively excluded urban and industrial Protestant Ireland from the accepted national identity on which Irish nationalism would make its case.[87] Crucially, Hutchinson portrays Catholic nationalism as being elite led, like its contemporary archetypal modern form, but that those elites deliberately embraced traditional values as a means of buttressing their own position and to advance the

[87] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London 1987), pp.250-2; 284-9

cause of autonomous statehood in some form. These 'traditional' values were largely encapsulated within the broad remit of Gaelicism. Like Hutchinson, Richard English has emphasised the social utility that a Gaelic identity had for Catholic Irish people:

> It was the very ambiguous standing of Irish Catholics' culture – part-British, but not entirely comfortable in the United Kingdom; part-Gaelic, but not entirely so – that made Gaelic zealotry and boundary-drawing so appealing. Why am I different and special? If I am in doubt about the answer, then a partly reinvented Gaelic self can emphatically and satisfyingly answer that question.[88]

The Irish nationalist project thus became one in which the Irish Catholic church would maintain its social control and in which Catholic middle-classes could advance within the social hierarchy in a manner they felt denied to them within the British union state. For most this meant the eventual achievement of Irish independence would entail not the radical rejection of the modern state apparatus of the United Kingdom, but merely a transfer of control to the Catholic Irish nation.[89]

In these interpretations, national identity formation remains an elite led process for the purpose of advancing their own position in both the Scottish and Irish cases. However, there were differences, for Scots elites their privileged position between British state and Scottish society necessitated a national identity which emphasised participation within the union. For Irish Catholic elites perceived barriers to their social and economic progress within the union state necessitated a nation identity which could legitimise attempts to gain separate state institutions of their own. This emphasis on the utility of the nation and any corresponding nationalist movement also figures prominently in Gellner's work. Gellner argues durable nations and national identities rely upon both 'voluntary' and 'cultural' aspects. They must not only have a degree of credible 'cultural' unity, based on shared religion, race, history (which need not be objectively true or coherent, merely plausible enough to provide elements of a shared group identity), but must also possess an accepted 'voluntarist' purpose, a sense of what the nation is for. John Hutchinson has similarly sough to distinguish between Romantic visions of an 'organic' nation emerging from a particular group of people possessing a certain shared culture and the 'enlightenment "voluntarist" vision' which

[88] English, *Irish Freedom*, pp.303-5
[89] Ibid., pp.295-7

viewed the nation as merely a commitment to shared political structures. He separates corresponding 'cultural' and 'political' nationalisms according to their differing concerns, the former seeking 'a strong community' the latter seeking 'a strong territorial state.'[90] There is nothing in this view that excludes Gellner's interpretation. In both cases the nation relies on the perception of a strong, shared community, united not only by similar experience but also a common direction of travel. David McCrone has argued that the ability of nations and corresponding nationalism to fulfil sociological, psychological and political needs is key to understanding the success and endurance of them as concepts. National identity and nationalism not only provide the individual with a way of making sense of their place in increasingly complex and fluid modernising societies, but also allowed groups to compete for resources.[91] Andrew Blaikie has identified the idea of nation and national culture as means of providing a framework of common values around which individuals might coalesce, by recognising their common and shared interests. Blaikie also emphasises the same dual requirements for group identity as being '*both* common purpose and sharing a common life.' (original emphasis)[92] Any subsequent decision on the political structures which provide the most utility to that nation requires some agreement on the nation's community interests and goals. Arguably, this is the most important means of conceptualising the workings of identity in this study, identity was not only an expression of a commonly held set of values, but could be used as tools to rally support or damage opponents in pursuit of those aims. V. R. Comerford has argued that a focus on the ideology of nationalism has minimised the appreciation of how ideas of nation and identity are ways for individuals and groups to maximise access to 'material resources' and secure their own survival and advancement. In Ireland, specifically, he argues that access to land and social mobility were key to the development of an Irish Catholic national identity.[93] The emergent Catholic nation drew upon religious unity and ideas of a shared Gaelic past to justify its existence as a nation seeking its own political space to ensure the rights of its members. Perhaps understandably, Anglo-Ireland and Presbyterian Ulster were excluded from this idea of nationhood not merely

[90] John Hutchinson, 'Cultural Nationalism' in John Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford 2013), p.76
[91] David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* (Second Edition London 2001), pp.194-5
[92] Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh 2010), pp.229-2
[93] Comerford, *Ireland*, pp.267-8

because they lacked the signifying cultural features, but because given their largely content position within the union state they saw little utility in the prospect of autonomous Irish political structures. Unionists 'did not fit into the Irish nation as it tended to be identified by Irish nationalists (Catholic, Gaelic, Anglophobic, even separatist)'; whilst 'Against them, they perceived a tyrannical, coercive, priest-dominated nationalist movement, and their religious rights as citizens lay at the heart of their unionism.'[94] Thus their exclusion became mutually reinforcing. Again, in both cases the development of a strong shared identity was a function of a shared group goal, national identities persisted and succeeded because they had material or psychological utility for individuals.

In Scotland, possessed of religious and geographical divisions similar in some ways to Ireland, the cultural unity of the nation was increasingly vested in a common understanding of the world deriving from the Scottish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. The idea of the 'modern' with all its value laden baggage would become a key aspect of Scottish understanding of the world and their nation. This was not a uniquely Scottish phenomenon, Roy Porter has argued that the translation of Enlightenment thought into wider culture was particularly British: 'In Britain at least, the Enlightenment was not just a matter of epistemological breakthroughs: it was primarily the expression of new mental and moral values, new canons of tastes, styles of sociability and views of human nature… it embodied a *philosophy* of expediency (original emphasis).'[95] Although Porter rightly points to the interconnected nature of British Enlightenment thinkers and argues against 'anachronistic' distinctions between a Scottish and English Enlightenment, this does not mask the importance that specifically Scots thinkers played in the osmosis of the ideals of modernity. That Porter's chapter entitled 'Modernizing' is the one in which he primarily deals with Scotland and its thinkers is telling.[96] This is not to say that every Scot of the nineteenth century was well versed in the specific texts and arguments of Ferguson, Kames, Hume and Smith, but that the world view of these men and their writings crucially informed how most Scots, particularly Scots elites, saw the world and their place within it. This connected two themes, a belief in progress, and Scotland's place within the union and empire.

[94] English, *Irish Freedom*, p.250
[95] Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London 2001), p.14
[96] Ibid., pp.243, 230-57

Firstly, these Scots were united in an over-arching belief in 'progress' and 'improvement', that the modern world was one in which problems could be objectively identified, explained, and solved by the application of science and reason. The 'deliberate intent to improve' became 'a particular, documentable facet of the Scots' self-consciousness about their own society.'[97] These characteristics were the essential elements of a modern mindset, the 'aspiration to be "up with the times."'[98]Christopher J. Berry's detailed study of how Scottish thinkers developed the idea of commercial society as a distinct phase of human development offers some important intellectual context for the ways in which Scots would define their nation in the nineteenth century. Commercial society it was argued, was a final stage of human society, following on from a previously identified evolution from hunting, to herding, to farming. Commercial society represented a point at which the exchange of goods between individuals with economic specialisation replaced mass subsistence farming. The emergence of commercial society was given 'a moral and normative core' by the intrinsic understanding that commercial societies were 'healthier, wealthier, and more liberal' than previous human societies.[99] Alexander Broadie has argued that for Scottish thinkers the stadial model represented 'stages in progress or improvement in the lives of people… not just material progress but progress in terms of the cultural values that are embodied in our lives.'[100] This assertion was based partially on the rejection of traditional ideas linking poverty with positive characteristics such as self-control or abstinence. This largely represented a rejection of both older traditions of Christian Stoicism and Aquinian virtue and also notions of 'frugality' embraced by their republican French contemporaries.[101] The idea that poverty was an evil and that pursuing life in a commercial society, which increased wealth levels for all, was its natural solution was a powerful and new idea. Commercial society was inextricably interwoven with other developments in society which were seen as mutually reinforcing: the prevalence of individual property rights, most importantly of land; of universal laws upheld fairly by a liberal state; and societal values of civility and

[97] Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh 2015, paperback edition), pp.1-24
[98] C.A. Baly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford 2005), pp.10-11
[99] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.50, 66, 128
[100] Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment*; pp.76-7
[101] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.78-84

peaceableness.[102] By extension these characteristics also assumed moral and normative dimensions, because they helped to facilitate commercial society. This belief, that emerging commercial society was better, in absolute terms, than anything which had preceded it, and that actively seeking to 'improve' society towards its ideal was a moral and material good became arguably became foundational to a Scottish world view. At the heart of this idea was the notion of 'progress'.[103]

The second part related to how these ideas fitted within the contemporary Scottish relationship with the British state. In their immediate context Scottish Enlightenment thinkers sought to disassociate themselves and Scotland more widely from the political taint of Jacobitism, and to establish themselves within the elite of Hanoverian Britain. In addition to this there was some recognition that the values of a modern commercial society had been present in the legislation aimed at pacifying or 'civilising' the Scottish Highlands in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. That the state should legislate to establish private property and improve agricultural practices was an important example of how the British state could advance the cause of commercial society, even if, as argued by Andrew MacKillop, that the desire for military recruits from the Highlands undermined these efforts at commercial development.[104] Britain was seen, by Adam Smith in particular, as the embodiment of the 'modern world of commerce'. British history was written by the likes of Hume because 'its story was the growth of modern independence and liberty from feudal dependency.' Crucially these Scots were aware that their own nation 'had some catching up to do' with their southern neighbour England.[105] Arguably the sense of inferiority to England enhanced the Scottish embrace of modern ideals. If England had, by dint of fortune and unintended historical consequences, emerged as the principal commercial society in the world, then rationally identifying and deliberately enacting those processes would allow Scotland to take its place alongside England on a global stage. That the same contrasts between prosperity and poverty might be drawn not only between Scotland and England, but within Scotland, between Highland and Lowland, strengthened the

[102] Ibid., pp.48-9, 85-5, 100-8, 128-9, 138-42
[103] Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London 2002), pp. vii, 11
[104] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.6-7, 14-15; MacKillop, *Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands*, pp.98-100, 215-224
[105] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.200-1

Scottish concerns for such issues.[106] For Hume, Smith, and their compatriots, these views formed the basis of 'a forward-looking, rational, North British patriotism, that of men of the world', a world view in which Scotland was 'a nation still, but not independent, firmly united with England' in 'a true partnership.'[107] The enlightenment disposition towards improvement also entwined itself with traditional repositories for Scottish national identity, namely education and religion.

In terms of education, the myth of a distinctively universal Scottish educational experience was now reinforced by a wider belief in education as 'a modernizing, civilizing process which reinforced social order, taught political loyalty, and created a workforce open to economic change.' The role of education in post-union and post-enlightenment Scotland was emphasised as it was felt the country was 'richer in human than material resources', such a view emphasised the role that a good Scottish education could play in Scots achieving success in the wider British imperial world, building further upon the myth of the 'lad o' parts' who was 'trained to conquer the world through the competitive rigours of school.' This was one example of the Scots conveniently discovering that their own society's distinctive structure already neatly fitted the new universalist ideals of progress and improvement of the enlightenment. Having established the value of universal education in shaping a moral and materially advanced society, these features and beliefs were written back into the historical myth of the distinctively excellent Scottish parochial school system. [108] The context of Scottish Calvinism also facilitated the development of a zealous improving outlook which encompassed not just Scotland but the wider growing British empire. David W. Miller has argued that the forms and structures, 'doctrine and polity', of the Scottish Kirk were inherently well-suited to the 'modern' world view where all things could be calculated or reasoned. In addition, Miller argues that almost from its inception that the Calvinist orthodoxy of the Scottish Kirk had been 'part of a programme for transforming not just Scotland, but the world on a Presbyterian model.'[109] Likewise Arthur Herman traces the roots of Scottish intellectual and human diaspora to the cultural remnants

[106] Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp. 246-57
[107] Janet Adam Smith, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland', in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth-Century* (Paperback Edition Edinburgh 1996), pp.108-112
[108] R.D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918* (Oxford 1995), pp.24-31
[109] David W. Miller, 'Presbyterianism and "Modernisation" in Ulster' in C.H.E. Philpin (ed.), *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge 1987), pp.81-7

of the Reformation, this was a second chance for Scotland to be 'the New Jerusalem.'[110] These were not necessarily distinctively Scottish phenomena. Protestantism had been entwined with small 'l' liberal thinking across Europe. The foundational principles of vernacular bibles and individual access to them had created a Protestant culture which 'encouraged a disposition towards enquiry and reflection which could easily be extended from the theological sphere to more secular contexts.' In the UK, the ideas of Protestantism as moral independence linked to liberty, and of imbuing an intellectual culture suited to the application of reason, were shared by Scots and Non-Conformists in England and Wales, and these groups together would form the core supports of political Liberalism.[111] However, unlike English non-conformists living under an Anglican state church, in Scotland possessed the tradition of an independent and institutionally Presbyterian national church. Developments within that church by the late seventeenth-century had led to form of Presbyterianism in which 'centrality of doctrine' was well established. In short, salvation depended upon a full knowledge and rigorous application of the Gospel's message. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, developments in theological thought, twinned with the secular influence of the nascent enlightenment, had led to the growth of the 'Moderate' faction within the Church of Scotland. Traditionally associated with their support for secular patronage which characterised the later Disruption of the 1843, Thomas Ahnert has argued that the intellectual core of the 'Moderates' was a move away from doctrinal standards centred on the gospel towards a belief in practical measures of moral and material improvement: 'The Moderates propounded a gradual, incremental improvement of the individual by means of a moral culture that was a co-operative enterprise'. The general values of the enlightenment, religious and civil liberty, the rule of law, came to be seen as a secular belief system which, regardless of the faith of its exponents and adherents, could encourage and facilitate a more virtuous, godly, world.[112] Arguably these two features of Scottish Presbyterianism, a proclivity for the doctrinal application of ideology and a zealous outward looking need to export these ideas formed a crucial part of Scottish engagement with Ireland, and the wider British

[110] Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment*, pp.15-16
[111] Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge 1992), pp.31-2
[112] Thomas Ahnert, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1690-1805* (London 2014), pp.27-9, 121, 137-40

empire during this period.[113] If the Scottish nation was one which had largely accepted, if in general terms, the moral and normative imperative of material progress and improvement, then what was its voluntarist purpose to be? Why should it seek political separation from the British state which embodied these ideas when through that state's empire it could proselytise the world. This view of empire as improvement on a global scale was twinned with distinctly articulated and visible roles for the Scots within it as discussed above. This provided a basis for Scottish national identity during the nineteenth century which not only accepted membership of the shared union state but which was built upon being the most effective and distinctive advocated of its modern values across the globe.

So, from this section there are several key points to take forward. Firstly, the idea of the nation as a modern concept, which both drew energy from and itself drove conceptions of how modern societies should be constructed. Successful nations required not only effective cultural symbols to bind them together, but also a clear purpose, they needed to offer some utility to its membership. In the Scottish case, the idea of the nation served elites looking to buttress their influential position between the British state and Scottish society with its own distinct institutions. The Scottish nation relied on these institutions to give a cultural legitimacy and continuity to the new ideas which would underpin its engagement with the world. These ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment, that progress and improvement were moral and material goods in and of themselves, became pervasive in general terms within Scottish society of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Combined with the exporting and proselytising legacy of Scottish Calvinism, these ideas produced within the Scottish nation a drive to spread these ideas beyond their own nation's territorial limits. This facet of Scottish nationhood gave utility to continued participation within the shared British imperial project. Similar mutual interest in the shared economic links of empire gave Irelands Protestants a stake in remaining part of an overarching British identity. In Ulster, historic ties to Presbyterian Scotland, perhaps strengthened the idea of a truly British as opposed to English connection. For the majority of Irish Catholics, however, the feeling of exclusion from and discomfort within the institutions of British state and empire led to the growth of a form of Irish identity that was exclusively Catholic. Whilst this saw nationalists draw upon ideas of a Gaelic past as a means of more closely

[113] Miller, 'Presbyterianism and "Modernisation"', pp.81-7

defining and binding this nation together, their ultimate aim remained profoundly modern: control of their own autonomous political structures which would allow participation on equal terms in the emerging modern world of nations.

We can relate these various strands of identity to the areas under consideration in this study. The themes of the military and government are areas where the Irish have usually been argued to have engaged with a specifically 'English' state, which had, according to Irish nationalists, conquered Ireland and now kept it under submission. Conversely, the army and administration were usually held up by Scots in the wider imperial world as evidence of their disproportionate influence on the shared empire. Land offered both the chance for Scottish self-aggrandisement, as global leaders in modern improved agriculture, and underpinned cultural and political Irish nationalism, as an economic demand for land reform and an emotive historic grievance. Finally, the role of Scots in urban Ireland offers a chance to investigate the workings of Scottish associational culture outside of Scotland, but still within the bounds of the United Kingdom, as distinct from an imperial context, whilst also allowing an exploration of a different side of Ireland and Irishness detached from its traditionally emphasised rurality.

The study of Irish land will focus on those Scots who travelled to Ireland as agents, stewards, agriculturists, and farmers, exploring how they articulated and deployed ideas of both Scottishness and Irishness in their interactions with the Irish. The links between land and ideas of Irishness were reinforced by the prominence of land reform issues in the formation and activities of Irish nationalist organisations.[114] From a Scottish perspective, the embrace of agricultural 'improvement' as a mechanism for broader social and economic progress was a growing feature of Scottish society from the mid-eighteenth century onward. This had translated by the time of the Irish union into 'uncritical optimism about the beneficence of economic change and boundless confidence and determination to bring such change about.' This mindset had been important in achieving for Scotland a global reputation as farmers and agriculturists.[115]

[114] See for example W.E. Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford 1994); Paul Bew, *Land and the National Question in Ireland 1858-1892* (Dublin 1980); Samuel Clark, *The Social Origins of the Irish Land War* (Guildford 1979); Donald Jordan, *Land and Politics in the West of Ireland: County Mayo from the Plantation to the Land War* (1994); Fergus Campbell, *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland* (Oxford 2005)

[115] L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, 'Economic Growth in Scotland and Ireland' in Cullen and Smout (eds.) *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History*, p.9

Following the addition of Ireland to the union state, the extension of these Scottish activities to the 'sister island' seemed 'explicable in terms of the dynamism of Scottish farming and also a similarity in topography and social conditions between Ireland and Scotland.'[116] The idea of the Irish as particularly connected to the landscape, and their willingness to deploy violence in defence of it have also been identified as distinctively Irish qualities by historians and contemporaries.[117] In this there was a sharp contrast with Scotland, where land had become in the popular imagination 'not so much a landscape on which to gaze as a land made fit for stock to graze.'[118] The politics of land reform connected both Scots and Irish to the wider British imperial context, with Scots active in the 'improvement' of land throughout the empire.[119] The crossover between land politics in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland has been examined by Ewen Cameron and Andrew Newby. Cameron has emphasised that the key difference between land agitations in Scotland and Ireland was the way in which nationalism was tied to Irish agitation in a way it was not in Scotland, and that UK government policy influenced by perceptions of 'troubelsome and disloyal' Ireland and of a 'quiescent and loyal' Scottish Highlands.[120] Newby's analysis of the links between Irish and Scottish movements for land reform in the 1880s has 'stressed that any cooperation between the Irish and Highlanders over the land question was unusual in the context of Scottish-Irish antagonism both before and after the 'Crofters' War' period.'[121] Newby also offers his view that 'mutual apathy, or antipathy' characterised the relationship between the two countries during the nineteenth century, partially fuelled by a Scottish presence on Irish land. Newby suggests that Scots were too enthusiastic in their status as 'North

[116] Ibid., p.2
[117] Samuel Clark and James S Donnelly Jr (Eds.) *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914* (Dublin 1983); see particularly contributions by Liam Kennedy and David S Jones.
[118] Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination*, pp.100-3
[119] Clive Dewey, 'Celtic Agrarian legislation and the Celtic Revival: Historicist Implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870-1886', *Past & Present, No. 64* (1974), pp.30-70; E.D. Steele, *Irish Land and British Politics: Tenant Right and Nationality1865-1870* (Cambridge 1974); Philip Bull, 'Irish Land and British Politics' in Matthew Cragoe and Paul Readman (eds.) *The Land Question in Britain, 1750-1950* (Basingstoke 2010), pp.126-145; Peter Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society* (Dublin 1999), Peter Gray, 'The Making of mid-Victorian Ireland? Political Economy and the memory of the Great Famine' in Peter Gray (ed.) *Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901* (Dublin 2004), pp. 151-166, and Peter Gray, 'Famine and Land in Ireland and India 1845-1880: James Caird and the Political Economy of Hunger', *Historical Journal 49:1* (2006), pp.193-215
[120] Ewen A. Cameron, 'Communication or Separation? Reactions to Irish Land Agitation and Legislation in the Highlands of Scotland, c.1870-1910' in *English Historical Review 120:487* (2005), pp.662-5
[121] Andrew G. Newby, *Ireland, Radicalism and the Scottish Highlands, c.1870-1912* (Edinburgh 2007), p.190

Britons' for Irish taste, the Irish image of Scots was 'an image of hard-drinking, capitalist Presbyterians, imbued with an ethos of "Improvement" and thoroughly implicated in the British/Imperial system.'[122] Differing conceptions of land, of its socio-economic purpose and its nature as private property, were a crucial point of difference encountered by Scots in Ireland. Land was also a theme in which the difference of Ulster could be addressed, W.H. Crawford has studied the rhetoric which surrounded Ulster as a midway point between Scottish and Irish conceptions of the land. Crawford highlights that, though Ulster seemed more 'Scottish' than the rest of Ireland from an Irish perspective, from a Scottish point of view the province still bore the signs of 'Irish' failings in practice. Crawford situates Ulster agrarian attitudes and practice as firmly 'Irish' by the union of 1801.[123] Debate over Irish land demonstrated the mid-nineteenth-century trend away from the enlightenment values of a universal human condition, susceptible to common remedies and improvements, towards a historicist view of distinct and separate cultures which needed similarly distinct treatment. The acceptance of Irish difference, embodied in Irish land legislation from the 1870s onwards, marked a point at which hopes of transforming the Irish into model Britons gave way to attempts to manage their grievances. Ultimately, land as an arena of contact would allow Scots to play upon their own self-image as agricultural improvers, whilst forcing them to interact with a key plank of Irish national identity and nationalism, the historic awareness of land having been seized, and of a supposed emotive connection to the soil of their native country.

The presence of Scottish regiments in Ireland similarly puts Scottish-Irish interactions within frameworks with which traditional themes of Scottish, Irish, and British identities have been framed. The visibility of Scottish regiments in the wider course of imperial conflicts provided a focus, as discussed above, for maintaining a Scottish-British identity based upon equal partnership in the shared empire. The army was also a genuinely pan-UK institution, always 'British' and never 'English', and a focus of Irish engagement with the British state. However, the presence of the army in Ireland also served as a historical reminder of conquest and was an important symbol of Irish

[122] Ibid., p.14-18
[123] W.H. Crawford, 'Ulster as a Mirror of the Two Societies' in Devine and Dickson (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh 1983), pp.62-3, 68; and
'Rural Change in Ulster and Scotland 1660-1815' in R.J. Morris and Liam Kennedy (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland: Order and Disorder 1600-2000* (Edinburgh 2005), p.22

oppression for Irish nationalists. In terms of the Irish society that hosted the Scottish regiments, Charles Townshend has offered a broad assessment of the nature of violence in Irish society and how the military were used in response. Particularly important to this analysis are Townshend's identification of the tensions created within the army and between soldiers and citizens by the frequent use of troops as an auxiliary police force, and also his argument that the perceived Irish rejection of British ideas of 'law and order' was important in retaining a sense of separation and difference between the citizens of Great Britain and their Irish counterparts.[124] Thus, on the one hand Scottish soldiers, technically in a 'home' posting but frequently required to undertake duties reminiscent of active imperial service, had the opportunity to reflect upon their role in Ireland and its difference from mainland Britain. On the other, the Irish, for whom the presence of the army was another symbolic reminder of historic political subjugation, frequently found themselves in conflict with a military presence trying to enforce the laws and values of a state which they increasingly wanted to leave. How they dealt with an explicitly non-English presence within the military apparatus maintaining the union should be of interest when assessing Irish engagement with the ideas of Scottishness and Britishness.

As stated above, the study of Scots in Irish government is largely premised upon highlighting the tension between Irish national narratives of the 'Saxon' or 'English' state by examining their responses to distinctly non-English agents of that state. For the Scots politicians concerned it will be useful to see if and when they articulated a distinctly Scottish identity in the context of Irish government, and how they saw their roles in Ireland as relating to the shared union state. This section will largely focus on certain individual Scots who held major offices in Ireland, drawing upon their public and private statements to see how they deployed their national identity and how they engaged with Irish identity. Within this chapter the themes of enlightenment and modernity as they pertained to perceptions of Ireland will also be examined. Notably the shift in attitudes discussed above from a view of Ireland as different, yet transformable, and one which acknowledged Irish difference as permanent. Thus, we will see two early-nineteenth-century Scots, Charles Grant and Thomas Drummond, pursuing in Ireland policies of the universal liberal enlightenment, equality before the

[124] Charles Townshend, *Political Violence in Ireland: Government and Resistance since 1848* (Paperback edition Oxford 1984), p.101

law and freedom of religion. Their hope was that if Ireland were given the gift of modern liberal institutions then Irish society would converge towards British society. The experience of later Scots from the 1880s onwards would demonstrate the fundamental shift that would occur in outlook on Ireland. K.T. Hoppen has traced this 'shift away from utilitarian universalism' towards a 'locally framed analysis based on the history, development, and present condition of particular countries and localities… Assimilation was dead. Long live pragmatic relativism.'[125] Michael de Nie has similarly argued that by the 1880s the political consensus in Britain rested on the assumption of irreconcilable Irish difference, with partisan disagreement only on how such difference could be managed to the best effect for the wider empire.[126] For Scots, Irish issues might seem somewhat analogous to those of their native Scotland. However, their experience tended to emphasise differences rather than commonalities, and Irish responses tended to identify Scots as emphatically British, yet with a distinctive Scottishness which perhaps made them more, rather than less, objectionable to Irish nationalist opinion.

Finally, the theses shall turn to Scottish associational culture in Ireland. Focussed on Dublin, so as to complement Kyle Hughes's existing study of Belfast, it shall largely focus on how the Scots of the Dublin St Andrews Society fitted into to the wider social milieu of middle-class (Protestant) Dublin. The analysis of these Scots in the context of their class position and civic roles within Dublin has drawn on a number of works on Victorian urban centres in the rest of the UK, notably R.J. Morris and Graeme Morton's studies of Leeds and Edinburgh respectively.[127] Morris's work on voluntary societies and has also proved useful for examining the formal activities of Dublin's St. Andrew society.[128] There is also an existing literature concerning religious and ethnic minorities within British cities, often categories assumed to include the Scots as a group, and their relations to commerce and business. These themes are important considerations when examining this group of urban Scots in Ireland.[129] Similar ideas are also central

[125] K.T. Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia: British Politicians and Ireland 1800-1921* (Oxford 2016), pp.179-80
[126] De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, pp. 267-77
[127] R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class. Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester 1990); Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*
[128] R.J. Morris, 'A year in the public life of the British bourgeoisie' in Robert Colls and Richard Rodger (eds.) *Cities of Ideas: Civil Society and Urban Government in Britain 1800-2000* (Aldershot 2004)
[129] See for example John Seed, 'Theologies of power: Unitarianism and the social relations of religious discourse, 1800-1850', pp.107-56 in R.J. Morris (ed.) *Class, power and social structure in British nineteenth century towns* (Leicester 1986); Stanley Chapman, 'Ethnicity and money making in

to John Bew's conceptualisation of 'civic unionism' in early-nineteenth century Belfast. Identified as a unionism which sought to highlight British unity through modern Victorian values of progress rather than exploiting sectarian and economic divisions within Irish society.[130] It remains to be seen whether the ideals of union as a vehicle for progress, combined with a 'genuinely held attachment' to a wider British imperial identity was shared by Dublin's Scots.[131] In addition to offering a different context for Scottish activity, examining the professional and mercantile middle-classes of Dublin allows for engagement with a very different categorisation of Ireland and Irishness, centred on the predominantly Protestant world of Dublin's professional and commercial elites, far from the experiences of Scots agriculturists or farmers in rural Ireland.

Together then, these different contexts of Scottish and Irish interaction have been identified because of their relevance to existing ideas of Scottish and Irish (and British) identity under the union. There are however important differences between them, and together they can usefully demonstrate the ambiguities and contingencies of identity articulation and deployment, showing that what it meant to be Scottish or Irish was open for contestation and could be deliberately ambiguous or contradictory. Overall, the differing context of these interactions, of private economic activity, in both rural and urban Ireland, the state army, of politicians, and active national associational culture will offer a view of Scottish-Irish relations in which difference rather than similarity was usually, though not always, the focus of identity and identification. There is however, one important thread which runs through these areas, and that is the undercurrent of ideas of progress and modernity. If Scots soldiers embraced a martial identity grounded in romantic conceptions of a Celtic martial legacy, their role in Ireland was as protectors of the laws and form of the modern British state, largely contesting forms of violence based on non-modern traditions and conceptions of communal rights. Most obviously the Scottish agent or steward was promoting an attitude towards agriculture which was overtly materialistic and profit orientated and which looked to reason and science to govern the function of Irish land. Scots politicians spent the

Nineteenth-Century Britain', pp.153-69; W.D. Rubinstein, 'The Weber thesis, ethnic minorities and British entrepreneurship', pp.170-81 both in David J. Jeremy (ed.) *Religion, Business, and Wealth in Modern Britain* (London 1998)

[130] John Bew, *The Glory of Being Britons: Civic Unionism in Nineteenth Century Belfast* (Dublin 2009), pp.16-20

[131] Ibid., pp.225-7

century engaged in debates over how best to make Ireland British, by implication how to make Ireland modern. The growth of democratic ideals as a key additional plank of legitimation for the modern (nation-)state meant that the idea of Irish difference became largely self-sustaining for both Home Rulers and Unionists. For the former, accepting Home Rule entailed recognising Irish democracy as a distinct and coherent grouping existing outside of Britishness. For the latter, Ireland remained a place in need of transformation by interventionist legislation. Finally, Dublin's Scots, as merchants and professionals taking part in associational activities, epitomised modern commercial society. Their embrace of civic values, their acceptance that charity and benevolence formed a crucial part of their social status all conformed to Enlightenment ideas about what constituted a good urban citizen. These areas all represent key interactions between versions of Scottish identity which accepted the virtues of modern society, and similarly varied versions of Irish identity which met them with varying degrees of resistance or acceptance.

Summary

Hopefully the preceding necessarily brief discussions of some of the issues around national identity within the United Kingdom between 1800 and 1920 has helped to clarify what this study aims to do, and what it does not claim to do. It is necessary to acknowledge that historians can rarely recreate the internal process of identity construction for specific individuals. Nor can we pass judgement on which competing versions of certain national identities were more or less valid than others. However, it is obvious that public discussion of identity within the union state did take place, and that competing versions of Britishness, Scottishness, and Irishness were articulated using a variety of different, sometimes shared, sometimes contrasting, ideas and symbols of what those individual national identities entailed. Although it contained symbols and motifs largely consistent across time, Scottish national identity was ambiguous and malleable enough to contain ideas which in some cases were contradictory, for example the primordial martial myth of the Scottish soldier in contrast to the rational modern science of the Scottish agriculturist. Which aspect of Scottish national identity an individual might seek to deploy was highly contextual and could be reconciled by a consistent belief in service to the modern British imperial project. Irish identity was increasingly contested between two increasingly precisely defined

groupings. Ultimately Irish national identity became the possession of those parts of the island engaged in the nationalist movement, whilst in north-eastern Ireland the concentrated unionist population sought to build a new Ulster nation as a vehicle for their own territorial counter-claim. Seeking to understand why and how these versions of national identity were articulated and deployed in certain contexts is a valuable pursuit. By grounding itself firmly within the interactions, across several relevant spheres of activity, between Scots and Irish this study will seek to demonstrate that an overarching British identity was not merely something imposed by an English centre upon passive or resistant Scottish and Irish peripheries. Scots entered the nineteenth century with a vested interest in an ideal of Britishness which they had been active participants in fostering. By examining their experiences in Ireland this study hopes to contribute to the historical understanding of the operation of national identities within the union state and the limits of a common British identity for all of its inhabitants.

Scottish Soldiers and Ireland[132]

Introduction

At the outset of the nineteenth century Scots formed a disproportionately high number of soldiers and officers in the British army. The vast expansion of the British military in the 1790s to fight the Napoleonic and Revolutionary wars was accompanied by an expansion in the number of Scottish line regiments and in Scottish militia and volunteer forces. In a society increasingly geared towards supplying men and materiel to a global conflict, 'the Highland regiments and the Highland soldier were made (mainly by Lowlanders) into proud symbols of Scotland's ancient nationhood and of her equal partnership with England in a British empire.'[133] J.E. Cookson has argued that the 'development of Scottish nationhood in the nineteenth century cannot be separated' from the popular association between Scottish society and the activities of its soldiers in imperial service which was birthed by the wars of the 1790s and 1800s. Crucially, Cookson argues that by demonstrating that Scotland could provide both sufficient line regiments and volunteers to garrison and defend Scotland in times of war, Scots were able to psychologically shield themselves from ideas of union as an English occupation or subjugation of their country and to construct a narrative of Scottish partnership in empire.[134] These Scottish elements of the British army were made highly visible by their distinctive dress and appearance, and would continue to be cultivated as evidence of Scotland as 'a nation that bred warriors and soldiers' well into the twentieth century. The regiments embodied 'a sense of national identity, though firmly within a British context, and charged with an explicit imperial mission.'[135] This visibility perhaps accounts for the reputations these regiments gained within the British army for their roles in key conflicts, demonstrating a distinctly Scottish contribution to the shared endeavours of a British Empire and providing a key plank for Scottish self-conception of identity throughout the nineteenth century.

Crucially, the representative and symbolic function of these regiments operated independently of their actual members. As the nineteenth century progressed,

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[132] Some material in this chapter was previously submitted within Stuart Clark, 'Scottish-Irish Encounters: People, Land and the Military, c.1800-1922' (Unpublished MScR thesis, University of Edinburgh 2015)
[133] J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation 1793-1815* (Oxford 1997), pp.126-9
[134] Ibid., pp.149-52
[135] E.M. Spiers, 'Scots and the Wars of Empire', pp.458, 478

demographic changes meant that Scotland's regiments increasingly drew manpower from outside of Scotland. There is no consistent means of analysing the nationality of the Scottish regiments across the whole period covered here. Regimental mergers and changeable methods and categories of counting provide further difficulties. However, using a range of snapshot years across a range of regiments, it should be possible to present a general picture of Scotland's regiments as a whole.[136] In 1820, the regiments regarded here as Scottish, fell in a range of being made up of between 7% and 98% Scottish soldiers. Within the regiments we can clearly discern the difference between the five kilted regiments, with Scots making up 90% of these regiments on average, and those regiments in trews composing only 46% Scots. Further consideration should be given to the service locations of the regiments at this time however. The trew-wearing 91st were stationed within the UK and Scots made up 79% of its complement, as compared with the other regiments in trews serving overseas with Scottish complements averaging at 38%. Similarly of the five kilted regiments, four were stationed in the UK and had Scottish components exceeding 85% each, whilst the overseas 92nd had a comparatively low Scottish element of 78%. Clearly, access to Scottish recruits was crucial with those regiments overseas being more likely to take non-Scots by necessity.[137] Jumping forward to 1857, the kilted regiments were composed of 83% Scots, comparable to the non-kilted regiments 81%, This latter figure may reflect the fact that those regiments who had lost their 'Highland' label in 1809 had successfully had it restored at various points in the intervening years. The 74th, who had had their Highland designation restored in 1823, had seen their Scottish compliment increase from 67% in 1820 to 83% in 1857; and the 74th, restored to Highland status in 1845, had seen an increase from 22% to 68%.[138] Whether these increases were the cause or result of the restored 'Highland' label might be debated, but having reacquired the nomenclature they fit within a broader pattern in which those regiments with the strongest visible connection to Scotland, in terms of dress or name,

[136] It might be useful here to refer to Appendix 3, which contains a comprehensive overview of the nomenclature of the featured regiments. I have elected to refer to regiments only by their allotted regimental number before 1881 and afterwards by their regimental names. It is hoped this will maintain a clear and simple text.

[137] These figures were reached using data contained in Diana M. Henderson, *Highland Soldier: A Social Study of the Highland Regiments 1820-1920* (Edinburgh 1989), p.10

[138] These figures were reached using data contained in Heather Streets, 'Identity in the Highland Regiments in the Nineteenth Century: Soldier, Religion, Nation' in Steve Murdoc and Andrew Mackillop (Eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military experience, c,1550-1900* (Leiden 2002), pp.223-4

found it easiest to attract and retain Scottish recruits. Finally, using the 1881 pre-merger figures we can see again that kilted regiments comprised a larger proportion of Scots than others. The regimental pairings which resulted from the 1881 reforms made clear a concerted attempt to pair kilted regiments with historically Scottish non-kilted regiments, thus the merger of the 42nd and 73rd, and the 92nd with the 75th. The kilted 42nd and 92nd had 94% and 85% of Scots respectively, whilst the 73rd and 75th were only 21.6% and 16.9% Scottish respectively.[139] As a final point it should be noted that the officer cadres of the regiments usually demonstrated a lower proportion of Scots than the other ranks. This reflected the British army's purchase system, in which the buying of a commission was possible, and a clearly defined hierarchy in which the kilted Highland regiments had a social prestige second only to the Guard regiments. Thus, status seekers from outside of Scotland might seek to buy commissions in Scottish regiments. However, it should be reemphasised that Scots largely maintained a majority of officer positions in these regiments, and it was extremely rare that Scots did not form a plurality of officers.[140] The exception being those regiments, like the 73rd and 75th, who's declining Scottishness has already been noted.

From this we might posit two things. Firstly, that the lack of Scots in Scottish regiments (as opposed to a lack of Highlanders specifically) was perhaps an overstated problem. Regiments with tangible Scottish links tended to consistently retain large majorities of Scottish recruits. Secondly, the mergers in 1881 point to the success of regiments in imposing their identities upon their members, it was hoped that the 73rd could be preserved as a Scottish body by its integration into the Black Watch, and similarly for the 75th in its merger into the Gordon Highlanders. This points to how these numbers should be treated in this study. As Ian Stuart Kelly has argued, the Scottish regiments 'so effectively embodied social underlying assumptions that it became difficult to separate one from the other… most fundamentally, it is important to recognise that the soldiers' widely disparate backgrounds had little to do with the process of imposing identity upon them.'[141] The British regimental system was particularly effective at fostering identity among its recruits and the Scottish regiments, tolerated particular symbols of distinctives, their dress and music, were perhaps even better placed to do

[139] Ian Stuart Kelly, *Echoes of Success: Identity and the Highland Regiments* (Leiden 2015), p.127
[140] Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, pp.90-91
[141] Kelly, *Echoes of Success*, pp.232-36

so. For soldiers in these regiments, whatever their nationality 'their acceptance of such ideals helped in fact to make it real.'[142] Yes, it is important to realise that not every soldier in a Scottish regiment was Scottish, but that should not obscure the fact that the regiments had a symbolic significance for Scotland and Scottishness irrespective of their membership. They acted a popular version of Scottish identity that had relevance for all Scots in the context of the British empire, regardless of their own military links, and which was crucially visible and distinctive to non-Scots, such as the Irish.

Irishmen also disproportionately contributed to the British army during this period, yet Ireland's relationship with the military remained fraught. The Irish military tradition did not fit neatly with any developing strand of Irish national identity. For Catholic Ireland, military service with the crown forces served little to enhance the narrative of constitutional Irish nationalism or a more radical tradition which celebrated armed rebellion against the British state or Irish service abroad in the ranks of its enemies. For Protestant Ireland, acknowledging an effective Catholic Irish contribution to the defence of the United Kingdom would have undermined their efforts to maintain their own sectional ascendancy.[143] In contrast to Scotland, Ireland in the nineteenth century would continue to be garrisoned by large numbers of Scottish and English troops. As part of the new United Kingdom Ireland, was technically a 'home' posting for British regiments, yet the nature of duties required could make service in Ireland difficult and unpalatable. Circumstances often served to remind the Scottish soldier in Ireland of the differences that existed between Ireland and Scotland or England, at times familiar enough to appear mundane yet at others imposing a much higher burden of activity upon the soldier to combat uniquely Irish issues of law and order, namely the prevalence of consistent levels of localised violence. Charles Townshend's identification of 'the composite concept of "law and order"' as 'one of the corner-stones of Anglo-Saxon political structures' offers an important lens through which any study of the army in Ireland can be viewed. [144] An ostensibly liberal British polity consistently confronted an Irish outlook willing to embrace the utility of agrarian, sectarian, and political violence. British responses which resorted to crude military force to enforce

[142] Ibid., pp.31-35; 232-236; Street, 'Identity in the Highland Regiments', p.236
[143] Cookson, *The British Armed Nation*, pp.179-81
[144] Townshend, *Political Violence*, p.101

British laws often abandoned any pretence of treating Ireland with liberal British values. The 'alien and demanding duties' demanded of soldiers could only serve to highlight that Ireland and its people maintained a distinctly different cultural outlook towards the law than the rest of the United Kingdom.[145]

This analysis shall attempt to give a chronological assessment of service conditions over the period, before focussing on the specific themes of religious and pan-Celtic identities. In doing so it shall seek to assess how the deployment of the Scottish regiments in Ireland reflected and shaped discourses on Scottish, Irish, British and imperial identities. To achieve this, this chapter will largely make use of sources produced by the soldiers involved: regimental histories, personal accounts, and regimental journals. These have the advantage of demonstrating how the soldiers themselves constructed the narratives of their Irish service and nationality. These sources shall be supplemented by wider Irish sources, personal diaries, politicians, and the printed press, which provide an insight into how the soldiers were viewed by Irish society. Arguably, the experience of the soldiers and their hosts demonstrated that any engagement in a distinct Scottish or Irish identity by the opposite group remained largely superficial. Scots soldiers retained a view which recognised the Irish as different from the rest of the United Kingdom despite their place within it, and relied upon increasingly lazy generalisations as a substitute for genuine understanding of Irish life or society. For their part, whilst the Irish could appreciate the distinctive appearance and traditions of the Scottish regiments as a novelty during calm periods, when the politics of nationalism peaked the tendency was to group the British nationalities together as equal targets of enmity, rather than grant the Scots (or English, or Welsh) any kind of exoneration for their role in the apparent subjugation of Ireland.

David H. Naire has correctly identified Irish service as distinctive, caught somewhere between its theoretical status as 'service at home' within the United Kingdom and the reality of 'near-active-service conditions' more resonant of an imperial posting.[146] Likewise, Virginia Crossman has argued that in addition to the 'harassing activity' they had to undertake in Ireland, British soldiers in Ireland also had to endure 'few comforts

[145] Ibid., p.89
[146] David H. Naire 'In Aid of the Civil Power, 1868-1890' in FSL Lyons and RAJ Hawkins (eds.) *Ireland Under the Union: Varieties of Tension, Essays in Honour of T.W. Moody* (Oxford 1980), pp.146-147

and fewer social amenities' than a home posting in Britain.[147] Irish service forced Scots to consider their own identities and the place of Ireland and the Irish within the United Kingdom, often in comparison to imperial service in the wider British Empire. The burdens placed upon Scottish soldiers were symptomatic of an Irish society which held different attitudes towards the nature of the law and the legitimacy of violence. Specific themes of interaction between Scots and Irish identities will be explored, namely how the religious divisions of Ireland affected views of Scots, and how perceptions of a shared Celtic/Gaelic past could be used as both a superficial basis for Scottish and Irish unity and a critical demonstration of Scottish and Irish difference. Ultimately it will be demonstrated that the Irish were unable or unwilling to preserve a distinction between Scots and English components of the British army in Ireland. As the twentieth century saw Ireland descend into wars for its independence, Irish views accorded no privilege to the Scots in a nationalist rhetoric of a simply British enemy.

1800-1850

In the immediate period following union, the British army in Ireland found itself tasked with assisting civil law enforcement in establishing the laws of the new United Kingdom. Aiding Excise officials in shutting down illegal poteen whiskey operations were a major focus of military activity: the 92nd spent their time in Ireland in 1811 hunting for illicit stills and proudly boasted to have seized twenty-two stills in thirty-two hours; for the 72nd regiment in Ireland between 1800 and 1805 duties including 'seizing illicit whisky stills and other police work'; and between 1803 and 1805 the 79th regiment 'were employed in keeping the peace and in the often unpopular duty of confiscating illicit whisky stills. It was during one of these operations that they had their first encounters with Irish rioters.'[148] K.H. Connell has argued that the ongoing resistance to licensed 'parliament whiskey' through the production of poteen was 'a striking example of the proverbial reluctance of the Irish to accept the law's definition of an offence.' For local populations the poteen trade had important economic and social

[147] Virginia Crossman, 'The army and law and order in the nineteenth century' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.) *The Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge 1996), p.358

[148] Lt. Col. C. Greenhill-Gardyne, *The Life of a Regiment: The History of the Gordon Highlanders, Volume I 1794-1816* (2nd Ed. London 1929), p.344; Angus Fairrie, *Cuidich 'N Righ*: *A History of the Queen's Own Highlanders* (1983 Stirling), pp.6, 27; I have elected to refer to regiments only by their allotted regimental number before 1881 and afterwards by their regimental names. It is hoped this will maintain a clear and simple text. Appendix 3 contains a comprehensive overview of the nomenclature of the featured regiments.

functions; consequently, operations to seize stills could frequently meet with armed opposition from gangs which outnumbered the soldiers.[149] The importance of the army in fulfilling these duties in the early years of union lay in the nature of the *de facto* civil law enforcement in Ireland, the Irish Yeomanry. Effectively a civil militia, largely drawn from the Protestant minor gentry, the Yeomanry had been created in response to the threat of revolutionary disorder in the 1790s, but became increasingly linked to Orange Order. Embedded in local communities the yeomanry would prove unreliable in such economically sensitive operations, sometimes even acting against the military in defence of the illicit trade. In these and other instances the yeomanry demonstrated a tendency to 'operate in a Whiteboy-like manner' (in reference to those secret societies tied to agrarian violence) in response to the threat posed by 'outsiders, whether private individuals or government agencies' to the 'unofficial economy of distillation'.[150] Lt. Colonel George Scott, serving with a Scottish fencible regiment in Ireland in 1814, clearly understood the difficulty this 'very disagreeable duty' of seizing stills caused for the local populace:

> This is a very harsh and cruel measure and of course will be total ruin to the poor devils and sufficient to drive them to despair, and I should not wonder that they are so much exasperated as to take up arms in their defence.[151]

Scott also showed his disapproval that 'not an Excise Officer dare stir an inch from his fireside without a bodyguard of an officer and twenty men'.[152] Despite his apparent sympathy, Scott's view of the Irish, both distillers and officials, carries a sense of superiority and disdain more akin to descriptions of imperial service than of part of the United Kingdom. However, interpretation of service in Ireland also allowed for a view of friendly Irish hosts alongside difficult, and often violent service conditions. The 92nd could recognise the 'genuine hospitality' of their Irish hosts despite suffering attacks on their barracks in Roscommon, which resulted in two dead civilians.[153]

[149] K.H. Connell 'Illicit Distillation' in K.H. Connell (ed.) *Irish Peasant Society: Four Historical Essays* (Oxford 1968),pp.28, 10-11
[150] Allan Blackstock, *An Ascendancy Army, The Irish Yeomanry, 1796-1834* (Dublin 1998), pp.252-268
[151] NRS GD113/5/72b/12, Letters from George Scott to Jane Innis, May 29 1814
[152] NRS GD113/5/72b/11,12, Letters from George Scott to Jane Innis, July 17 1814, 29 May 1814
[153] Greenhill-Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment, Volume I*, p.344

Joseph Donaldson of the 94th Regiment arriving in Wexford in 1814 found his preconceptions about the Irish challenged:

> It had been for some time the headquarters of the rebel army during the disturbances of 1798, and the scenes said to have been acted in and near it during that unfortunate period, being impressed on our minds, we entered the place with strong prejudices against the inhabitants. From a people implicated in what was termed a foul, unnatural rebellion, against a mild and equitable government, what could soldiers expect but treachery and fixed enmity? How were we deceived when we found them the most urbane, good-humoured people we had ever been amongst.[154]

Anton recalled that many of his fellow soldiers took wives in the town, and that the inhabitants of Wexford expressed genuine sorrow upon the regiment's departure to Kilkenny.[155] Kilkenny would not be as welcoming. Donaldson recalled 'the evident wish to quarrel' among the inhabitants, and acknowledged that 'we could never expect to be on the same friendly terms with them as we had been with the inhabitants of Wexford.'[156] Violent incidents between the soldiers and population ensued: a sentry 'had his hamstrings cut by some person who had been lurking about his post.'[157] Donaldson questioned whether the attack was motivated by 'individual enmity' or a 'dislike towards the soldiers in general', but the attack further worsened relations between soldiers and people, with further scuffles resulting in the death of a civilian: 'Thus, new cause for hatred was produced and kept alive, by circumstances which sprang from a jealous feeling on either side. We very naturally blamed the inhabitants as the aggressors... The people of Kilkenny, on the other hand, execrated us as savages who cared nothing for human life.'[158]

This animosity must have been perpetuated by the frequent intrusive duties the regiment was required to undertake. The area around Kilkenny was 'in a disturbed state' caused by 'lawless schemes' and causing 'duty to be particularly unpleasant'.[159] The soldiers were often called upon to aid collection of debts from tenants: 'we were

[154] Joseph Donaldson, *The Eventful Life of a Soldier* (2nd Edn. London 1863), p.220
[155] Ibid., p.259
[156] Ibid., p.259
[157] Ibid., p.262
[158] Ibid., pp.262-3
[159] Ibid., p.260

regularly called out by these fellows, when they went to distrain a man's goods for rent or tithes, until we were more like the bailiff's bodyguard than anything else.'[160] The association of the soldiers with such obviously invasive actions would have created ill will towards them. Donaldson did not lay the blame for this bad relationship purely at the feet of the Kilkenny natives however, instead placing fault with his regiment's immediate predecessors in the town, the 42nd regiment. Regimental pride and rivalry may have been behind Donaldson's own disdain for the 42nd, but he felt that their 'boasting illiberal manner' had turned the people of Kilkenny against soldiers in general.[161] David Anton, serving with the 42nd, recalled his regiment's attitude towards the people: 'they were poor and we considered them intrusive when they approached the door of our little smoky dark hole of a barrack: and all their generous offers of disinterested service were indignantly refused.' Anton later admitted that 'I cannot look back upon that part of my conduct with any degree of satisfaction; yet I was only acting up to received instructions.'[162]

In his recollections, Anton felt the need to challenge the 'rather false idea abroad respecting "Irish barbarism".'[163] Both Anton and Donaldson felt that levels of violence in Ireland were exaggerated. Anton felt that local law enforcement talked up violence so that 'blood is murder, knocking down or tipping over killing' and Donaldson complained that 'if a cabin or hay stack was set on fire, a whole village was burned- if one man was wounded, a dozen were killed, and so on, always magnifying the event in proportion to distance.'[164] Yet Donaldson conceded that 'some very barbarous actions were committed by the associated bands of Shanavests and Caravats', suggesting that organised agrarian violence was an issue confronting the soldiery.[165] Here Donaldson had successfully identified the main source of organised violence in southern Ireland at this time. Respectively a collective organisation to defend the rights of poor farmers and labourers and the middle-class reaction, Caravat and Shanavest feuding was responsible for the large military presence in southern Ireland during the early years of the nineteenth century, and by the end of 1810 the area was hosting

[160] Ibid., pp.260, 268
[161] Ibid., pp.260, 262
[162] David Anton. *Retrospect of a Military Life During the Most Eventful Periods of the Last War* (Edinburgh 1841), pp.165-6
[163] Ibid., p.167
[164] Ibid., p.166; Donaldson, *Eventful Life of a Soldier*, p.268
[165] Donaldson, *Eventful Life of a Soldier*, pp.260, 269

more soldiers than it had during the 1798 rebellion.[166] Anton attempted to separate such 'local association of a secret nature' from the population in general and felt able to assert that in 1814 he found 'the country was in a perfectly peaceable state, with regard to constitutional allegiance.'[167] Clearly both soldiers felt able to distinguish between localised violence and a general Irish character. Donaldson recognised the enmity felt between soldiers and inhabitants in Kilkenny yet would marry an Irishwoman he met there.[168] Anton attempted to correct what he saw as false popular ideas about Ireland and the Irish, and upon the 42nd leaving their station in Kilkenny expressed that 'to the people at large we owe our best wishes, and that we carried with us a share of theirs we have no cause to doubt.'[169] Both Donaldson and Anton felt compelled to challenge perceptions of the Irish as violent and to present what they saw as a fairer view in which the Irish in general possessed a capacity for hospitality towards the army. Yet the requirement for the soldiers' presence in the first place pointed to the willingness of ordinary Irish men and women to view violence as a legitimate response to social and economic conflicts. Policing such violence presented the main differences between a 'home' posting in Ireland and one in Britain.

Going into the 1820s and 1830s, service in Ireland seems to have continued in the same pattern of localised activities against rural unrest and violence. Frequent reproduction of official language concerning 'aiding the civil power' and the 'disturbed state' of Ireland was often used to avoid recounting unpalatable details of service. Thus in Galway in 1814 the 74th regiment was 'distributed throughout the county, which was in a very disturbed state'; the 78th regiment, in 1819 were kept busy 'owing to the disturbed state of the counties of Galway and Roscommon'; in 1820 the 25th were likewise concerned with keeping order 'in consequence of the disturbed state of the country'; and in 1823 a section of the 71st regiment 'was also encamped at Glennasheen, in the county of Limerick, the disturbed state of that part of Ireland requiring detachments'.[170] The 79th in Ireland between 1820 and 1825 'had a full share

[166] Paul E.W. Roberts, 'Caravats and Shanavests: Whiteboyism and Faction Fighting in East Munster 1802-1811' in Samuel Clark and James S Donnelly Jr (eds.) *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914* (Dublin 1983), pp.66-72, 93
[167] Anton. *Retrospect*, p.169
[168] Donaldson, *Eventful Life of a Soldier*, p.iv
[169] Anton. *Retrospect*, p.175
[170] *Regimental Records of the Highland Light Infantry (Old 71st and 74th)* (Glasgow 1914), p. 106; H. Davidson, *History and Services of the 78th Highlanders (Roos-shire Buffs) 1793*-1881 *Volume I* (Edinburgh 1901), p.135; R.T. Higgins, *The Records of the King's Own Scottish Borderers Or Old Edinburgh Regiment* (London 1873), p.287; Henry J T Hildyerd, *Historical Records of the 71st*

of duties in aid of the civil power, including two turbulent years in Limerick.'[171] These duties may not have been the most favourable to the soldiers, for the 92nd stationed in Ireland between 1828 and 1834 'aiding the civil power', the 'unpleasant duties of the time', included keeping the peace and enforcing the collection of tithes'.[172] For the 71st, deployment at Glennasheen required 'the utmost exertion of every individual for their protection'.[173] In his diary, Andrew Agnew of the 93rd regiment, recalled being sent to Portglenone, Antrim, 'in aid of the civil power' in 1837, but furnished no details beyond recalling that the soldiers 'spent a very pleasant week, fished in the Bann'.[174] Clearly there was a reticence concerning the more trying aspects of soldiering in Ireland, and in Agnew's case a preference to emphasise the positive experiences. David Naire's writing on the British army and the agrarian disturbances during the Land War in the 1880s provides a useful comparison for the study of Scots during this earlier period. The system of small detachments detailed locally for 'special duties' protecting local landlords, and assisting police Naire describes is one which would have been all too familiar to Scots soldiers serving in Ireland during the 1820s and 30s. [175] Naire observed that:

> Poor living quarters, long hours of duty, a damp climate and a scarcity of local amenities among a hostile population added to the soldier's discomfort and gave the phrase "duties in aid of the civil power" a distinctly unwelcome connotation.[176]

If this was the attitude of soldiers in 1880s Ireland it is reasonable to assume that feelings were similar, if not worse, in the Ireland of the 1820s and 30s, and the historian must be aware of the very real depth of feeling implied when a military memoir or regimental history used the expression 'in aid of the civil power'. Far from being legalese used to cover an uneventful spell of duty, it represented a knowing military

Regiment Highland Light Infantry, from its formation in 1777, under the title of the 73rd or McLeod's Highlanders, up to the year 1876 (London 1876), p.115
[171] Fairrie, *Cuidich 'N Righ*, p.31
[172] Lt. Col. C. Greenhill-Gardyne, *The Life of a Regiment: The History of the Gordon Highlanders, Volume II 1816-1898* (2nd Ed. London 1929), pp.13. 23-4
[173] Hildyerd, *Historical Records of the 71st Regiment*, p.115
[174] NRS GD154/780 Diary of Andrew Agnew
[175] Naire 'In Aid of the Civil Power', pp.135-144
[176] Ibid., p.147

acknowledgment of the difficulty of circumstances which required their almost constant deployment amongst the civilian population.

The arrival of so many of the Scots regiments to Ireland in the early 1820s was part of a general concentration of military strength in Ireland to counter growing agrarian violence which would see troop numbers in Ireland reach sixteen thousand by 1822 and twenty-one thousand by 1823.[177] Robert Clyde has argued that the 'cynical use of Highland soldiers to put down revolts in Ireland' represented part of the 'rehabilitation' of the Highlanders following their increasing prominence in imperial service: they were now seen as 'an ideal counter-revolutionary asset'.[178] Certainly Scottish regiments were present in Ireland in unprecedented numbers and concentration during this period. David Anton, returning to Ireland between 1817 and 1825, with the seemingly obligatory token acknowledgement of 'a land far famed for hospitality', described being stationed with the 42nd at Rathkeale, Limerick, and having to conduct searches of homes for weapons and evidence of agrarian disturbances:

> (A) duty no less harassing to the military than it was annoying to the inhabitants: for those visits were generally made by night, and the families who were thus visited were at a loss to know whether their visitors were soldiers or Rockites; for both parties were alike overbearing in their demeanour.[179]

According to Anton the local people preferred the soldiery to both agrarian activists, the Rockites, and Irish police, they 'detested that system of terror under which they had been kept by the insurgents' whilst exhibiting a suspicion towards the police as 'their sectarian oppressors'.[180]By contrast 'soldiers were welcomed as friends, until they prove themselves unfriendly'.[181] Anton was sure that the soldiers were viewed as neutral external parties in what were considered localised disputes.[182] Maura Cronin has argued during the 'Tithe War' of the 1830s soldiers were treated according to their role local proceedings: actively aiding the collection of tithes would result in violence towards the soldiery, whereas merely providing escort to the tithe officials would be

[177] James S. Donnelly Jnr., *Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821-1824* (Cork 2009), p.143; See Appendix 4A
[178] Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, p.176, 186
[179] Anton. *Retrospect*, pp.262, 304-5
[180] Ibid., pp.295,278
[181] Ibid., p.278
[182] Ibid., p.295

unlikely to provoke hostility.[183] From the Irish point of view, the preference of the soldiers to police appears real, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin (Humphrey O'Sullivan) in his diary entry for 4 May 1832 recorded simply: 'Soldiers in Callan waiting for the collection of tithes', and leaves it at that, but when on 20 June a party of police arrived for the same duty he felt compelled to add 'May their visit to us do them no good!'[184] However it is also clear that soldiers were not universally welcomed. On 2 October 1828 Ó Súilleabháin complained 'We are plagued with soldiers coming through the town today'.[185] Whilst these soldiers were not of Scottish regiments Ó Súilleabháin's entry of 26 September 1832 described 'a fight between the soldiers (74th battalion) and the country boys'. A fair assumption might be that the Scottish 74th regiment was the one in question and that their time in Callan was not entirely appreciated by the local populace.[186] Whatever the feelings of Anton concerning his positive self-image of the Scottish soldier during this period, and whatever preference the Irish had for British soldiers over Irish law enforcement, the fact that Rockite reprisals explicitly targeted Scots soldiers and their families alongside the English suggests that the Irish did not necessarily make a positive distinction between the Scots and other sections of the British army.[187]

During the 1840s Ireland would find itself in the grip of the Great Famine from 1845, placing an even greater emphasis upon the poverty and suffering of the Irish people with whom soldiers were often billeted. If soldiers had resented their duties as collectors of rents and debts beforehand such duties now became ever more distasteful. Diana Henderson's opinion that 'it is difficult to believe that Highlanders serving in Ireland in the 1820s, '30s and '40s were unaware of Highland emigration poverty, and hunger' is surely accurate and a general sympathy for the people seems apparent in the experiences of the 92nd between 1846 and 1851 in Ireland when officers had to reprimand their soldiers for sharing too much of their rations with the locals.[188] The 72nd Regiment maintained a narrative in which both officers and other ranks had 'contributed largely both in food and money' to the inhabitants of Clonmel

[183] Maura Cronin, 'Of One Mind? O'Connelite Crowds in the 1830s and 1840s' in Peter Jupp and Eoin Magennis (eds.) *Crowds in Ireland c.1720-1920* (Basingstoke 2000), pp.142-3
[184] Humphrey O'Sullivan, *Diary of an Irish Countryman, A translation of Cín Lae Amhlaoibh*, translated by Tomás de Bhaldraithe (Dublin 1979), pp.118,120
[185] Ibid., p. 62
[186] Ibid., p. 123
[187] Donnelly Jnr., *Captain Rock*, p.145
[188] Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, p.218; Greenhill-Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment, Volume II*, p.49

whilst posted there during the 1840s, supposedly earning the enduring gratitude of the people in that district.[189] The Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 saw the soldiers in active duties against insurgents, yet in spite of this it seems that a general good will towards the soldier remained amongst the population at large who, 'though disaffected to the government, were at that that time very civil to the soldiers, and made them welcome and comfortable in billets.'[190] During the immediate periods preceding and following the events of the rebellion, disorder seems to have become more prominent, but again it appears that soldiers were not the target of violence which was aimed at local government institutions and landlords, C. Greenhill-Gardyne recalled one exchange between an officer and men who had been apprehended attempting to acquire weapons:

> Why don't you boys shoot me, who am here to keep order?
>
> What 'ud be the use, yer honour? Sure, there'd be another man in your place tomorrow![191]

Apathy and the transitory nature of the soldiers' presence rather than affection then may have been the reason behind the soldiers being left alone. The manner in which Greenhill-Gardyne records this in the regimental histories may be of note, attempting to maintain the style and accent of the Irish reply betrays perhaps a patronising sense of novelty and strangeness felt towards the Irish people. A later passage concerning the regiment during the 1850s demonstrates a similar style of observation concerning the Irish in Galway: 'The country people, who adhered to their picturesque costume- the men in "caubeen", tail-coat, knee breeches, and shoes, the women in blue coats and red petticoats'.[192] This description of the Irish brings to mind the objectifying accounts of early and mid-nineteenth-century travel writers in Ireland, the description gives the impression that the people inhabited a different world from the soldiers, and that their 'picturesque' style of dress was worth recording to provide interesting novelty to the account of military life. Again, the reduction of these companies' experiences with the locals to the stock phrase of experiencing 'true Irish hospitality' and the idea

[189] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.1 January 1922, p.3
[190] Greenhill-Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment, Volume II*, pp.51-2
[191] Ibid., p.48
[192] Ibid., p.80

of ‘the wit of the natives’ reveals a lack of willingness to go beyond the clichéd expectations of how the Irish should be represented.[193]

In broader terms the first half of the nineteenth century most frequently saw Scots soldiers deployed in law enforcement operations. Localised faction fights, illicit stills, and the intendant social and economic conflicts of ‘Whiteboyism’ and the Tithe War, rather than nationally organised political insurrection were the dominant focus of military activity. If relations between soldiers and citizenry varied according to place and regiment, defying generalisation, the nature of their service was fairly consistent. ‘Aiding the civil power’, the use of the army to enforce the ordinary laws of the union state, demonstrated simultaneously the modern aspirations of the British state and their ambiguous application in Ireland. On the one hand, the mass deployment of soldiers to combat ‘Captain Rock’ and ‘Whiteboyism’ demonstrated the determination on behalf of the British state to enforce its laws and their guiding values, the most essential of which being those in protection of private property. The importance ascribed to these principles and that of peaceableness were vital components of British conceptions of modern liberal society ruled by ‘law and order’, where the exercising of individual liberty requires that ‘lawlessness is not endemic’.[194] It is clear that large sections of Irish society continued to see violent resistance to perceived social or economic transgressions as legitimate. What is interesting is that positive opinions of the soldiery persisted in tandem with hostility to local Irish law enforcement. The British soldier holding the ring in conflicts between landlords and tenants, or religious groups was seen as being preferable to the existing Protestant dominated civil law enforcement and legal system. As will be seen, hostility to the army would reach its height when it was seen as acting for Britain against Ireland, rather than as an arbitrator in internal Irish conflicts.

1850-1910

The 1850s gave Scots regiments scant opportunity for Irish service given the conflicts in the Crimea and India. The 79th, for example, returned from the Crimea to Dublin in June 1857 but in July were shipped to India to combat the rebellion.[195] These conflicts

[193] Ibid., pp.80- 1
[194] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.101-8; Townshend, *Political Violence,* p.101
[195] Robert Jameson, *Historical Records of the Seventy-Ninth Regiment of Foot, or Cameron Highlanders* (Edinburgh 1863), p.110

did however have important consequences for the development of the respective discourses on Scottish and Irish identity. The prominence of Scottish regiments and commanders in India in particular helped to further entrench perceptions of the Highland soldier as the most loyal and effective soldier of empire. The wider context of the monarch's acquisition of Balmoral castle and subsequent popularisation of a romantically packaged Highland image helped in this regard. By contrast, the O'Connellite Repeal movement of the 1840s and the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 had reminded Britons of the threats potentially posed by Irish nationalism. The opposition between Highlander and Irish nationalist became an important feature of identity discourse within the United Kingdom as it 'articulated the contours of ideal vs unacceptable imperial citizenship.' In a society increasingly deploying racialised ideas in an imperial context, Heather Streets has argued that the Scottish regiments 'serve(d) as a reassurance to Britons that not all Celts were disloyal: against the disloyalty of the Irish Celts, Highlanders – the very best and most manly Celts - remained unshakably loyal and continually "proved" that loyalty in countless imperial venues.'[196] The second half of the nineteenth century would see both more opportunities for demonstrations of Scottish imperial loyalty abroad, in Afghanistan, Egypt, Sudan, and South Africa, but also see the revival of Irish nationalism as a threat to both the political integrity and peace of the United Kingdom.

Many Scottish regiments would return to Ireland during the Fenian panic of the mid-1860s. Sir Hugh Rose, the Scottish Commander-in-Chief of the army in Ireland, deliberately engineered the recall of several Scottish regiments to Ireland in response to the crisis. Virginia Crossman and E.M. Spiers agree that Rose saw the Scots regiments as inherently more politically reliable than those regiments currently station in Ireland. Rose himself had served with the 92nd regiment during the 1820s and 30s when, again, Scots regiments had been deployed 'out of turn' to Ireland to combat Rockite and tithe related violence.[197] Henderson suggests that the swift removal of the 73rd regiment and the 75th regiment from Ireland was provoked by fears of Fenian infiltration, and that the 71st and 92nd were brought to Ireland especially because they

[196] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester 2004), pp.167-8

[197] Crossman, 'The army and law and order in the nineteenth century', p.360 and E.M. Spiers 'Army Organisation and society in the nineteenth century' in Bartlett and Jeffrey (eds.) *The Military History of Ireland*, p.347

were seen as reliable.[198] The 71st regiment, having been on service abroad since 1853, returned to Aldershot in 1866 but was 'hurriedly removed' to Ireland in December and the regiment 'remained in Ireland for nearly two years... and was called upon to perform a variety of harassing and unpleasant duties in connection with the Fenian troubles.'[199] The 92nd, in Ireland between March 1866 and January 1868, felt that 'duty in Dublin was rendered unusually severe by the Fenian disturbances.'[200] An anonymous soldier of the 92nd recalled that the regiment was indeed deployed because of the dubious reliability of other regiments: 'at the outbreak of the Fenian rebellion in 1866 we were ordered on to Dublin, as it was discovered that a certain Irish regiment stationed there was somewhat affected with Fenianism.'[201] He remarked that 'work was exceedingly hard... blessings loud and deep were poured on the heads of the devoted Fenians.'[202] Having spent a great deal of time decorating their barracks and preparing food and drink for celebrating Hogmanay in 1867, the 92nd were ordered to Cork on New Year's Eve to combat suspected Fenian activity. The resentment felt towards the Fenians at missing out on their planned celebrations was evident in the description of the new reality: 'we brought in the New Year in cold cheerless rooms without fire. This was the work of the Fenians.'[203]

The 1870s onwards presented familiar challenges to the British army in Ireland, concentrated campaigns of agrarian violence and agitation would once again see troop numbers increased, averaging at around twenty-five thousand during the years of the Land War during the 1880s. Troop levels reminiscent of the Rockite disturbances of the 1820s were mirrored in the 1820s style agrarian tactics seen in Ireland under 'Captain Moonlight'.[204] The main Scottish regiments were largely absent from Ireland during this peak of activity during the early to mid-1880s, the standard bearers of imperial martial tradition had more pressing concerns in Egypt, South Africa, and Afghanistan.[205] Either side of the Land War, Irish service seems to have become distinctly unexciting for the Scottish soldier. Life in Ireland for the 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders between 1889 and 1895 could be summarised as 'six generally

[198] Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, pp.217-218; See Appendix 4A
[199] *Regimental records of the Highland Light Infantry*, p.61
[200]Greenhill-Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment, Volume II*, p.88
[201] GHM PB632, Anon. *Some Military Experiences* (1897) , p.5
[202] Ibid., p.5
[203] Ibid., p.5
[204] Naire, 'In Aid of the Civil Power', p.128
[205] Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, pp.307-314

uneventful years' by one regimental history, and for J.W. Moodie of the 78th his brief time in Ireland in 1878 and 1879 represented 'the most tiresome nine months of my life'. Departing for India he concluded 'anything would be better than Ireland'.[206] Service experiences seem to have become divided between the ceremonially demanding and repetitive life of being garrisoned in Dublin and that of being stationed in Belfast and the north-east of Ireland to deal with flare-ups of sectarian violence.

Service as part of the Dublin garrison had always been considered different from normal Irish service. The high levels of involvement of the garrison regiments in official engagements concerning the Lord Lieutenant and guard duties at the Castle and in the streets made for one of the most structured and restrictive stations for the army in Ireland. Joseph Donaldson recalled 'the dull sameness of our duty' whilst the 94th was stationed in the Irish capital in 1814, whilst David Anton in 1819 felt that 'Dublin duty is considered by the military circle to be more strictly adhered to, in all the etiquette of dress and formality, than any other garrison'.[207]By the time the Queens Own Cameron Highlanders arrived in Dublin from Fort George in 1904 little seems to have changed: 'We are almost settled now in our new station, and getting used to the restrictions of garrison life' recorded 'Jacobus' in the regimental publication the *79th News*, whilst more mundane matters pressed upon other contributors to the journal: 'Dublin is not so convenient for football as Fort George' remarked one; another that 'half of the battalion are wishing themselves back at the old Fort'.[208] There is a much greater sense of separation between soldiers and citizens coupled with a view of parallel existence rather than any large degree of interaction on a day to day basis. Following a training detachment to the firing range at Kilbride, one contributor expressed this view of Dublin:

> (W)e have returned to what the comedian is pleased to call "Dublin's fair City", as we walk down the quays on either side of the sweet-smelling (?) Liffey, when the sun beats back from the pavement, when every footstep seems to have an accompanying jar under one's forage cap, when a solitary eddy of lifeless air sweeps up the filthy dust from the gutter in our faces, when we find difficulty in threading our weary way through the mannerless groups of expectoratory locals

[206] Fairrie, *Cuidich 'N Righ*, p.43; J.W. Moodie, *A Soldier's Life and Experiences in the British Army* (Ardrossan 1887) , p.5
[207] Donaldson, *Eventful Life of a Soldier*, p.317 ; Anton. *Retrospect*, p.283
[208] *79th News*, No. 76 September 1904, pp.17,14, 17

> or shrieking mobs of unwashed children, then even the worst of bad shots must surely realise that he appreciated the value of Kilbride too late.[209]

A final review of their time in Dublin after arriving at their new station, Tidworth, in 1907 presented a similarly bleak picture of service in the city:

> (O)ne occasionally hears the plaintive remark that Dublin might have been worse. There is, of course, much truth in that remark, but we must remember that distance lends enhancement to the view. We are now inclined to forget the searching odours of the Liffey, the squalor and filth of the slums which surrounded us, the numerous guards, the strength of the daily sick parade, the wearisome march to Kilbride, and the national antipathy to soldiers in uniform.[210]

Hints towards a perceived hostility to soldiers recur when reading between the lines of the journal. Following a difficult route march during which the soldiers took solace in the struggles of a broken-down motor car, the narrator ironically summed up his colleagues' behaviour by remarking 'the brutal soldiery again!', demonstrating a self-awareness of how they were perhaps perceived by the wider population.[211]

Frequent training exercises outside of the city brought the soldiers into direct contact with the rural population. These encounters were recorded with the same simplicity, and almost patronising style, as earlier portrayals of the Irish character, suggesting that these encounters were viewed as a novelty rather than as dealings with equal citizens of the United Kingdom:

> Reconnaissance Schemes were not without their humorous side. We had to depend on the natives to a great extent for our information, and this information was in many cases most surprising. However, it must be remembered that the party seeking information was usually possessed of a broad Scotch accent quite beyond the comprehension of the son of Erin, and the reply, in equally broad Irish, was just as difficult for the scout from north of the Tweed.[212]

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[209] *79th News,* No. 86 July 1906, p.38
[210] *79th News,* No. 95 January 1908, p.4
[211] *79th News,* No. 80 July 1905, p.19-20
[212] *79th News*, No. 80 July 1905, p.17

> The country we passed through was lovely, and the writer fails to see why the inhabitants of this glorious country grumble so much. The shoe should be on the other foot, for evidence shows that they have plenty to be thankful for.[213]
>
> The Irish are more Irish than ever on a race-course, and had I a sufficiently Irish wit and a ready enough pen, I would sit down and write stories about Irish race meetings for the remainder of my days... of snatches of conversation sparkling with humour and of incidents which could happen in no other country but Ireland.[214]

The above examples demonstrate not only the familiar reduction of the Irish character to mere humour and wit, but a rather superficial attempt to engage with the reality of Irish life. Mutual incomprehension was seen as something funny rather than worrying between two groups of people living in the same state, whilst the beauty of the Irish countryside, irrespective of the social conditions for those living in it, should be enough to stop Irish complaints. The Irish were being made subject to the soldiers' gaze not as equals and fellow citizens but as distinctly external and different to themselves. However, this was not necessarily to the exclusion of an awareness of the theoretical partnership between Scots and Irish of the United Kingdom, as a line from a featured poem called 'The Dublin Alphabet' demonstrated: 'W is Wit, which our hosts do not lack, X their red saltire which graces the Jack'.[215] Perhaps a useful means of avoiding identifying an 'x' word, it does also demonstrate some awareness of the complex view of the Irish in the mind of the Scottish soldiers. On the one hand the Irish were considered different, and that difference was made tangible by reproducing clichéd generalisations about the Irish character, but there was a simultaneous awareness that the Irish were also part of the United Kingdom, especially those in the service of the crown. The Camerons seem to have gotten on well with the Irish regiments they encountered, especially the Royal Irish Fusiliers, 'our ubiquitous foes of the football field', who themselves received a mention in the poem, 'E is for Erin, our home for some years, F her stout warriors, the R.I. Fusiliers.'[216] This apparent friendly connection with a uniformed Irishness did not extend to all versions of Irish identity.

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[213] *79th News*, No. 82 November 1905, p.9
[214] *79th News*, No. 91 May 1907, p.10
[215] *79th News,* No. 86 July 1906, p.12
[216] *79th News,* No, 86 July 1906, p. 24, 12

Certainly, the soldiers demonstrated a latent hostility towards Irish nationalism and the idea of Ireland leaving the UK. Called to Belfast in August 1907 to provide extra security during dock strikes, the Camerons soon found themselves involved in tackling violent riots. At first, however, the soldiers seemed less than certain that their presence was required at all:

> (I)t is no exaggeration to say that most of us expected to see Belfast in flames on our arrival. Great, therefore, was our consternation to see that, to all appearances, nothing unusual was on the board, and that, instead of being received with sour look on the part of the populace, we were greeted with cheers![217]

However, the violence would grow, culminating in a large-scale riot in the Falls district of the city on 11 and 12 August 1907, the various company reports show a resentment among the soldiers to their representation in the nationalist press:

> Since our arrival here we have had a few 'scraps' and the Nationalist press have fairly rubbed it in for the Jock.[218]

> On Sunday and Monday, August 11th and 12th, things took a different turn, and the Nationalist mobs, as well as the Nationalist "gutter press", began to resent our presence, and commenced their operations with an attack on the police.[219]

Clearly, the soldiers blamed Irish nationalists for the violence and riots and objected to being made the villains of the piece. The escalation of political tension would see Ireland become an increasingly hostile environment.

1910-1923

Following the elections of 1910, the Liberal government found itself reliant on Irish MPs for its majority in the House of Commons, and following the removal of the House of Lords veto Irish Home Rule became a practical possibility. Unionist and nationalist paramilitary organisations emerged in the shape of the Ulster Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers respectively, both of which presented a significant challenge to law and order. Virginia Crossman has argued that this development placed the army in more

[217] *79th News,* No. 93 September 1907, p.8
[218] *79th News*, No. 93 September 1907, p.6
[219] *79th News*, No. 93 September 1907, p.8

direct confrontation with Irish civilians: 'as the conflict in the Irish countryside had pitted the Catholic population against the Protestant landlord class, the army and the government had been able to assume the mantle of impartial observers' but now 'the government found itself under direct rather than indirect attack... the army was forced into the role of a combatant as opposed to mere auxiliary in the conflict.'[220] It has already been shown that the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders had demonstrated hostility to Irish nationalism, and Hew Strachan has explored the growing politicisation of the British army through the late-nineteenth century and has argued that 'it was in Ireland that the security of the empire and the army's politicisation through its imperial existence came together. It was Ireland that set at odds the professional self-regard of the army and the principles of the Liberal Government.'[221] According to Charles Townshend it had been increasingly apparent that the military in Ireland operated 'in answer to British strategic imperative rather than any imagined duty to the (Irish) people.'[222] This tension between the imperial self-image of the army and the Home Rule principles of the government came to a head during the so-called Curragh Incident of March 1914, when large sections of the army's officer corps threatened resignation in face of fears that they would be deployed to suppress the unionist Ulster Volunteers.[223] Whilst strongest among those regiments with connections to Protestant Ireland, regiments such as the King's Own Scottish Borderers (KOSB) were not immune to dissent. The regiment's 2nd Battalion stationed in Dublin were 'rudely shaken' by the incident and seemingly 'it was the tact of the GOC 5th Infantry Division, Major-General Sir Charles Fergusson, that largely prevented a state of mutiny.'[224] A Scot himself, Fergusson's own report neglects to specifically deal with the KOSB when relating his efforts to keep regiments in line, identifying instead the 2nd Battalion Suffolk Regiment as the most difficult to keep under military discipline, it might be inferred that the KOSB were among the least resistant groups to the idea of suppressing the Ulster Volunteers.[225] The battalion was drawn fully into the Home Rule crisis on 26 July 1914 when it was despatched to intercept nationalist gun runners. This resulted in a 'scuffle' at Clontarf, and the battalion on heading back to Dublin 'was followed by a savage

[220] Crossman, 'The army and law and order in the nineteenth century' p.378
[221] Hew Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army* (Oxford 1997), pp.111-12
[222] Townshend, *Political Violence*, p.102
[223] Strachan, *Politics of the British Army,* pp.111-15
[224] Robert Woolcombe, *All the Blue Bonnets: A History of the King's Own Scottish Borderers* (London 1980), pp.99-100
[225] NRS RH1/2/529, The Curragh Incident, Report By Sir Charles Fergusson

mob which pelted the soldiers with stones, inflicting severe injuries on many.'[226] Shots were fired at Bachelors Walk and three civilians were killed, as future IRA fighter Dan Breen recalled 'the King's Own Scottish Borderers became known as the King's Own Scottish Murderers'.[227] The battalion's diary recorded that 'the feeling against us in Dublin was very bitter and the battalion was strictly confined to barracks.'[228] The association of these deaths with a regiment which wore tartan and even had the word 'Scottish' in its name was not lost upon the Dublin crowds. The *Irish Times* reported that on the evening of 26 July large crowds had converged upon the Royal Barracks shouting 'Down with the Scotties' and 'calling on the "Scotties" to come out and fight.'[229] The resentment towards the battalion was such that they were hastily evacuated to the Curragh Camp, the *Scotsman* reporting that 'in anticipation of the departure from Dublin of the Scottish Borderers Regiment, the streets of the city were densely crowded with people, evidently anxious to make a hostile demonstration', whilst soldiers of the Territorial army and the Cheshire Regiment had been attacked by those 'under the impression that they belonged to the Scottish Borderers'.[230] This hostility seems to have been entirely provoked by events at Bachelor's Walk. In May the funeral procession for Pipe Major Robert Kerr-Somers had seen the tartan wearing Borderers and their pipe music greeted warmly: 'Seldom has a military funeral been watched by so many civilians as this one. Along the Infirmary road and Phoenix Park were thousands of spectators, and a large number followed the procession to the cemetery.'[231] The ambiguous engagement of the Dublin crowds with the distinct Scottish identity of the regiment was apparent. They were sufficiently notable to be worth observing in procession and distinctively 'Scotties' to be shouted at, yet the lack of a distinctly Scottish element to the uniform of the Cheshire Regiment or Territorials did not preclude them being mistaken for their Scottish colleagues.

The controversy surrounding the incident was quickly overtaken by the outbreak of the First World War. Ireland witnessed the Easter Rising of 1916, and in 1918 the new nationalist Sinn Fein party triumphed at parliamentary elections. The decision of those MPs to set up their own Irish Parliament provoked what was to become the Irish War

[226] Woolcombe, *Blue Bonnets*, p.100
[227] Ibid., p.100; Dan Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Revised Edn. Tralee 1973), p.19
[228] Woolcombe, *Blue Bonnets*, p.100
[229] *Irish Times* 27 July 1914, p.5
[230] *Scotsman* 28 July 1914, p.8
[231] *Irish Times* 11 May 1914, p.7

for Independence. William Sheehan's work on exploring British perspectives of the war rightly identifies the sparse attention paid to the Irish conflict in official military histories:

> The conflict is largely ignored by the British regimental histories, indicating that it is seen as relatively unimportant, lost among what were considered vastly more important campaigns from the army's perspective.[232]

For Sheehan, the proximity of the Irish conflict to the end of the First World War and changes to the peacetime role of the army throughout the British Empire overshadowed the war in Ireland in British military memory. Hew Strachan likewise located military experience of the war as anomalous, 'caught between the process of demobilisation and post-war reduction on the one hand, and the expansion of imperial policing on the other.'[233] However, an alternative explanation for the reticence of regimental histories to go into detail about events in Ireland was hinted at by Irish Republican Frank Gallagher: 'British regiments with noble names dishonoured them in Ireland by what they did.'[234] For those Scottish regiments deployed to Ireland following the carnage of the Western Front their experience of this time could vary drastically depending on where they were stationed in Ireland. Soldiers of the 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders camped at Collinston on the outskirts of Dublin 'found it possible to revive many of the diversions of a home service battalion in peacetime', whilst the 1st Battalion Highland Light Infantry, though 'ready to oblige any wishing to die for Old Ireland', found it 'very difficult to realise that Ireland was in armed rebellion' given their lack of action, even though they had 'marched all over the Curragh and Tipperary looking'.[235] The regiment's 2nd Battalion, required to undertake searches for arms in County Clare, reflected that they had been engaged on similar duty in 1831, and that it 'did not appear to have changed much in the interval'.[236] The 2nd Battalion Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders endured a more testing deployment to Cork: 'a turbulent tour of duty in a part of Ireland reduced to anarchy by the events of the Sinn

[232] William Sheehan, *A Hard Local War; The British Army and the Guerrilla War in Cork 1919-1921* (Stroud 2011), p.68
[233] Strachan, *Politics of the British Army*, p.164
[234] Frank Gallagher (pseudonym David Hogan), *Four Glorious Years* (Dublin 1953), p.209
[235] Wilfred Miles, *The Life of a Regiment: The History of the Gordon Highlanders, Volume V 1919-1945* (Aberdeen 1961), pp.3-4; L.B. Oats *Proud Heritage: The Story of the Highland Light Infantry, Volume IV 1919-1959* Glasgow 1963), pp.32-3
[236] Ibid., p.24

Fein rebellion.'[237] For many British regiments the difficult and trying circumstances of their deployment to Ireland at this time may present too much of a challenge to their positive self-identities to record compared to foreign actions perceived as more noble and heroic. This reflected a common difficulty for regimental histories which were mainly designed, as David French argues, to serve the purpose of reinforcing a positive regimental identity and e*spirit de corps*, 'when history might tell them what they did not want to hear, it was rewritten in a more acceptable form… Few regimental histories made mention of events that showed their regiment in a poor light'.[238] Whilst these absences may be regrettable, they are an important indication of how such histories served to build identities as much as reflect them. No history of the Cameron Highlanders relates the events of August 1920 when a party of the regiment's 2nd Battalion effectively sacked the town of Cobh (Queenstown), Cork, as a reprisal for the death of a Cameron in an IRA ambush, damaging over seventy shops and houses.[239] On the contrary, one history of the regiment maintained that 'it was only the fine sense of discipline of the Cameron Highlanders and other regiments which protected these despicable ruffians from retaliations and reprisals'.[240] It would be wise to emphasise the variation in service experience across Ireland during the period.

Away from the guerrilla campaigns of the South, urban garrison duty presented a trying occupation for the soldiery. The 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders were stationed in Belfast from 1922 and were tasked with policing the city's sectarian conflicts. The newly formed regimental journal *Cabar Feidh* sought to demonstrate the continuity evident in the regiment's deployment in the city, highlighting its previous service during the 'riots and tumults' of the 1870s, 'thus does history repeat itself!'[241] The regiment recalled the 'hostile interest' their arrival had met from the inhabitants, and that though 'our first impressions of Ireland were not altogether pleasant! The scenery, however, so far as we have seen it, is superb… very pleasant agricultural country with excellent crops.'[242] The trope of Ireland as a scenic place with hostile natives was one which had informed British military accounts of the island for the preceding century. The

[237] Fairrie, *Cuidich 'N Righ*, p.85
[238] David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People, c.1870-2000* (Oxford 2005), pp.82-5
[239] Sheehan, *A Hard Local War*, p.25,36
[240] *Historical Records of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, Volume IV* (Edinburgh 1931), p.416
[241] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.1 Jan. 1922, p.3
[242] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.1 Jan. 1922, pp.21-2

quarterly accounts of life in the city illustrated the duality which Irish service still possessed, between a home garrison and its official status as 'Active service.' Throughout the years of this deployment, descriptions of the violence inflicted upon soldiers and their distaste for their duties sat alongside positive portrayals of the city, its inhabitants, and the recreational opportunities available. Successive issues of *Cabar Feidh* identified the 'wholesale murders and assaults', the 'extremely arduous' duties required, the 'very provocative' behaviour of the populace in 'this City of terror', talk of a 'campaign of murder and arson' in which 'more bombs were being thrown than confetti.'[243] Despite this recurring emphasis on the harsh brutality of their service conditions the regiment also felt able to boast of its good standing in the city, repeating several times across several journal issues the line that the soldiers 'get on very well with those with whom we come into contact', and arguing that 'the popularity of the regiment increases as the days go by'.[244] The developing realisation that 'the whole population of some 400,000 people were being punished for the actions of a few maniacs', seems to indicate that these soldiers were still capable of distinguishing between the civilians of Belfast enemy combatants, both Republican and unionist, 'as one party is as bad as the other.'[245]

The eventual truce and Anglo-Irish treaty would see a gradual decline in the violence, by January 1923 duties 'in aid of the Civil power (were) practically nil.'[246] By April, Belfast was 'an enjoyable city to be stationed in', and garrison life had become a 'pleasant vocation'.[247] Having been faced with levels of violence and unrest attributable to both unionists and nationalists, and finding themselves post-treaty in a part of Ireland which remained within the UK, the end of active duty allowed these soldiers to resume a view of their urban posting which tended to erase any prejudice against the population of either political grouping. Still, historical articles within the journal's pages could reveal the enduring prejudices soldiers carried. A discussion of the historic career of one Seaforth lieutenant in the 1810s and 1820s discussed the activities involved in policing Ireland at the time, and reflected that 'these recall to our minds similar duties recently carried out by British troops in the disturbed country,

[243] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.2 April 1922, p.66; *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.3 July 1922, p.115-6; *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.4 Oct. 1922, p.165
[244] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.2 April 1922, p.66; *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.3 July 1922, p.115
[245] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.3 July 1922, p.116
[246] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.5 Jan. 1923, p.220
[247] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. I No.6 April 1923, pp.279-80

whose history repeats itself in a remarkable manner, and whose people ever seem to be in a disturbed and lawless state.'[248] Clearly, there was an image of an Ireland caught in an endless cycle of violence from which it was unable to escape.

The collection of witness statements from Irish participants in the conflict, now held by the Bureau of Military History in Dublin, offer an important reminder of how local dynamics could shape the experience of the soldiery. Collected during the 1940s and 50s these recollections also demonstrate how the soldiers were viewed by their erstwhile adversaries. For those detachments engaged in less intense hostilities these accounts tend to matter-of-fact descriptions, for example Michael Sheerin's description of the successful amphibious operations of the Gordon Highlanders to capture the divisional headquarters of the 1st Derry Brigade of the IRA:

> The Gordon Highlanders with Auxiliary Cadet attachments made a surprise night landing at Burtonport in the 1st Brigade area… The Gordons overran the Divisional Headquarters near Dungloe, captured the divisional O/C, his staff and the Divisional Guard. In the course of a week the 1st Brigade was fairly well combed and practically all the 1st Brigade Column were captured.[249]

Here, an IRA officer, Sheerin, is quite calmly describing the defeat and capture of several of his comrades at the hands of the Gordon Highlanders, but no sense of overt hostility to the men of that regiment or their conduct permeates his account. Even where troop activities were less orthodox this pattern seems to have held. When soldiers of the Black Watch broke up a parade in Charleville, Co. Cork in November 1920 commemorating the Fenian 'Manchester Martyrs' of the nineteenth century, using their rifle butts to beat and disperse the participants and provoking several hours of street fighting, the witness account remains decidedly matter-of-fact in describing the soldiers and their aggressive tactics.[250] This is not the case for those accounts dealing with the Cameron Highlanders in Cork. The frequent and deadly encounters between the IRA and this regiment made recollections of the conflict more intimate and determinedly hostile. Several accounts go out of their way to detail the numerous actions of terror and reprisals the regiment caused. Michael J. Burke, a captain in the

[248] *Cabar Feidh* Vol. II No.10 April 1924, p.69
[249] Bureau of Military History (BMH), WS0803 Michael Sheerin 13 February 1953, p.20. The events in question took place at some point in February or March 1921, it is not clear from Sheerin's narrative.
[250] BMH WS0754 Joint Statement by Michael Geary and Richard Smith 28 November 1952, pp.15-6

Cork IRA recalled the formation of a ‘murder gang’ of the Cameron Highlanders who targeted the families and homes of suspected or known IRA men, executing some, badly injuring others, and using others as hostages.[251] This same group of Cameron Highlanders was identified as the perpetrators of a particularly brutal spree of reprisal killings by John Kellegher, another officer in the Cork IRA:

> On Saturday night, 14th May, 1921, a large party of Cameron Highlanders came into Midleton and commenced raiding houses. Some of the soldiers went in the direction of the local Golf Links where they chanced to meet a youth named MacNamara who was walking to his home along the railway line. The military shot and killed MacNamara. Later that night some others of the party called to the house of a Volunteer named Richard Barry who lived about a mile outside Midleton. Barry was arrested by the Cameron Highlanders. Next day his dead body was found on the railway line about a mile on the Midleton side of Carrigtwohill. Seemingly this same force of Camerons then went to the home of Jackeen Ahern at Ballyrichard and, not finding him at home, arrested his brother Michael. On the following day Michael's dead body was found Inside a fence about three hundred yards west of Carrigtwohill near where the main road to Cork branches off to Cobh. Another I.R.A. man named Ryan from Woodstock, a short distance north of Carrigtwohill, was taken from his home that night and shot dead by the same party of Cameron Highlanders. Two other Carrigtwohill men not members of the I.R.A. were murdered the same night by the Cameron Highlanders' raiding party.[252]

Allegations of the abuse of prisoners was common, Kevin Murphy, a young member of the Fianna Eireann, a nationalist youth organisation, recalled his own treatment by the Camerons, who had beaten him and then demanded he clean his cell of the blood of another prisoner who had been held there. This prisoner had supposedly ‘been shot by the Cameron Highlanders, tied with ropes to a military lorry and dragged for miles along the road, had been thrown into the cell which I now occupied.’[253] This is not to cast judgement upon the Cameron Highlanders as distinct from other Scottish regiments or their IRA opponents, certainly the IRA executed and misused military and

[251] BMH WS1424 Michael J Burke 24 May 1956, pp.28-30
[252] BMH WS1456 John Kellegher 12 July 1956, p.27
[253] BMH WS1629 Kevin Murphy 7 June 1957, pp.8-10

police prisoners as well, and some recalled almost friendly relationships with their captors such as sharing food or being 'allowed' to escape.[254] Rather, these incidents serve to highlight that the intensity of the conflict in Cork bred animosity lacking in other areas of deployment. One history of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, whose 2nd Battalion also served in Cork during the war, carries a dark hint at the activities of the soldiers. Describing the 'murder by rebels' of three soldiers, the history intriguingly records that 'that the Borderers had not exactly turned the other cheek.'[255] Whether or not this indicates similar reprisals as those exampled by the Camerons remains unclear. IRA guerrilla Tom Barry seems to have reserved the majority of his contempt for the 'vulgar monsters' of the 'murderous' Essex Regiment, implicitly excusing the conduct of the Borderers.[256]

That the fact of active guerrilla warfare should breed new hostilities between Scots soldiers and the IRA fighters should come as no surprise. The treatment of IRA prisoners in the years 1920 and 1921 contrasted sharply even with that of participants in the Easter Rising. Daniel Kelly, arrested during Easter Week for his involvement with the Irish Republican Brotherhood, recalled his own treatment by escorting Scottish soldiers in good terms, recalling how 'the prisoners sang "The Soldier's Song"' and that the accompanying Scots 'were delighted with it and said it was the best marching air they ever heard. They brought Billy Denn into their carriage. He was a Kilkenny man and a grand singer. He had to sing "The Soldier's Song" a few times and write it out for them… the Officers of the Scottish Regiment bought a number of newspapers and periodicals and handed some into each carriage for us to pass the time with it… I thought it was very decent of them.'[257] It took the reality of the 'dirty' guerrilla warfare to see this treatment evolve into the beatings and killings of later years. Douglas Wimberley, then a captain with the Cameron Highlanders recalled how most of the Scots soldiers had struggled to grasp this situation at first: 'It was very difficult for some weeks to teach the Jocks that we were now in what was largely a hostile country... we must be wary of all local Irish, and all were our enemy unless we

[254] BMH WS0955 Patrick Muloly 3 June 1954, pp.24, 26-7
[255] Woolcombe, *Blue Bonnets*, p.112
[256] Tom Barry, *Guerrilla Days in Ireland* (Dublin 1981), pp.90-1, 98-9
[257] BMH WS1004 Daniel Kelly 5 September 1954, pp.25-6

knew them to be otherwise. '[258] Wimberley also recalled that the duality of Irish service remained, both remembering the 'distasteful and unpleasant' duty of searching houses that would have been all too familiar to Scottish soldiers in Ireland during the 1800s, and also the 'jolly guest nights' that meant the soldiers 'managed to have quite a lot of fun', though local Irish attendees could often face reprisals from the IRA, such as having their heads shaved.[259] Wimberley's version of the sack of Cobh focuses upon the sense of frustration felt by soldiers who 'were not being allowed to deal properly with their enemies'. The men involved 'were all quite sober' and this worried Wimberley and the officers so that in future after incidents involving attacks on the Camerons or killings of policemen they over-exercised the soldiers until 'tempers had cooled.'[260] According to Sheehan the attack on Cobh during which 'some civilians on the streets were assaulted and both unionist-owned shops and private houses were targeted, even the Royal Soldiers Home falling victim... suggests that the Camerons were not yet familiar with the political geography of Cobh.'[261] The regimental histories also demonstrate the double standards the army applied to the conflict: IRA attacks were carried out 'by traitors upon fellow-countrymen who had no quarrel with them' whilst it could be fondly recollected how during an IRA ambush one officer 'promptly turned a Lewis gun on them, upon which very wisely, they all took to their heels, leaving one of their number dead behind them'.[262] Clearly the soldiers stopped, if they ever had, treating the IRA as 'fellow countrymen'. It seems that for the Scots soldiery the Irish had become one monolithic group of extended rebels.

It seems there was equal determination on the part of the Irish to implicate all of Britain for the British government's stance and actions in Ireland. For Dan Breen it was important to emphasise the guilt of unionist politicians 'from English, Scottish, and Welsh constituencies' and that what he termed the 'murder gangs' of the Royal Irish Constabulary, special units formed to deal with IRA activity, contained 'English, Scots, and Welsh'.[263] This deliberate inclusivity of the nationalities of Britain must be seen as

[258] NLS Acc. 6119/1 Douglas Wimberley, unpublished draft entitled *Scottish Soldier Volume One*, p.146
[259] William Sheehan, *British Voices of the Irish War of Independence: The Words of British Servicemen Who Were There* (Cork 2005), pp.177, 188; NLS Acc. 6119/1 Douglas Wimberley, unpublished draft entitled *Scottish Soldier Volume One*, p.147
[260] Sheehan, *British Voices of the Irish War of Independence*, pp.176-177
[261] Sheehan, *A Hard Local War*, pp.41-42
[262] *Historical Records of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, Volume IV*
[263] Breen*, My Fight*, pp.14-15, 128-9

a determined attempt not to excuse the Scots from the perceived ambiguity of British versus English. Contributors of witness statements, like John Kellegher, could speak of 'their hatred of all things British' rather than merely 'English', though others, such as 3rd Dublin Brigade officer Sean Donnelly could still identify a distinctive role for the Scots: 'In my opinion the British War Office have always found Scotch troops willing to do their dirty work.'[264] The idea of the Scottish soldiers as particularly willing and able imperial police links directly back to the nineteenth-century image of the Scottish regiments.[265]

The language used by the IRA did provoke some advanced Scottish nationalists to complain of the IRA and Dáil using the word 'British' rather than 'English'. Scottish nationalist Rauraidh Erskine of Marr, contacted the Irish nationalist leadership through London-based Irish activist Art O'Brian, complaining that the use of the term 'British' by Irish nationalists in public was 'as injurious to your interests as it is so to ours' and that 'grievous mischief' would be the result of its continued use.[266] This was a continuation of a discussion that O'Brian had previously had with Michael Collins on the same subject. O'Brian had previously informed Collins that:

> Our advanced Scotch friends very much object to the use of the word British instead of English and they are trying to make their own people adopt the proper word English. Again the use of the word British especially when used by our own people, conveys to the outside world… that we are at war with all parts of the British Empire, whereas our fight, like the fight of our advanced Scotch friends as well as Egypt, India etc. etc. is against England.[267]

Collins's reply, whilst indicating his agreement in principle, drew attention to the peculiar status of the army as a truly 'British' institution, highlighting that 'people here who are inclined to say "English" are also inclined to use the term "British" when speaking of the military forces.' Clearly the army's composition made it recognisably more than just English, so that it was, like the empire itself, British rather than English. A significant part of that Britishness was the distinctive Scottish presence within the army. Despite his apparent recognition of the issue Collins went on to describe the

[264] BMH WS1456 John Kellegher 12 July 1956, p.1; BMH WS0481 Simon Donnelly 24 January 1951, p.2
[265] See above, p.53
[266] DE/2/436 'Use of the Word British' 28 October 1921 Copy of Erskine of Marr to Art O'Brian
[267] DE/2/436 'Use of the Word British' 19 September 1920 Art O'Brian to Michael Collins

origin of the difficulty quite uncritically as the 'result of British policy and British endeavour.'[268] When Collins was informed of Erskine of Marr's continued criticisms, his reply was damning of the inactivity of contemporary Scottish nationalists:

> You will remember that I agreed in our previous correspondence that it would be desirable to limit as far as possible the use of the word 'British' – everybody must realise that there are limits. We used to have the same objection to use of the word 'British' if it was meant to include Ireland but at the same time there was only reality given to this when the Irish representatives definitively repudiated this inclusion by public act.[269]

Though Collins agreed to take the issue into consideration it remained clear that, whilst he recognised the importance of the distinction, he felt that Ireland's claim to freedom from the UK and 'Britishness' was stronger than Scotland's. Given that it was Ireland, and not Scotland which was in armed rebellion it seemed clear to Collins and other Irish nationalists who the real objectors to 'Britishness' were. This idea of action as a necessary step to repudiating Britishness might be tentatively developed with regards to those Scots-born members of the Republican forces. Thomas Slater, born in Edinburgh to a Scottish father and Irish mother, expressed his concerns that he would not be accepted into the IRB as 'I was not born in this country. Neither was I the son of an Irishman.'[270] In the end the firmness of Slater's nationalism and his willingness to be involved in IRB activity outweighed his Scottish birth and father. Similarly demonstrating Irishness through action was Peter Monohan, 'a Scotchman' who deserted the Cameron Highlanders to join the IRA, though his comrades assumed he 'was probably of Irish parentage'.[271] In these cases Irishness was attainable through active opposition to the British state and its agents, even for those who were from mainland Britain.

The brunt of IRA hostilities, however, had been borne by the native RIC, not the soldiers of the British army. Darrel Figgis explained IRA strategy in terms of what they felt the Irish public would be willing to tolerate:

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[268] DE/2/436 'Use of the Word British' 21 September 1920 Michael Collins to Art O'Brian
[269] DE/2/436 'Use of the Word British' 31st October 1921 Michael Collins to Art O'Brian
[270] BMH WS0263 Thomas Slater 17 June 1949, p.1
[271] BMH WS1771 Florence Begley 15 March 1960 , p.2

> Soon isolated barracks of the Royal Irish Constabulary began to be attacked. Great subtlety was shown in this, for feeling had been stirred against the RIC... Soldiers of the British Army, however, were regarded as men who were simply doing their duty, and the public mind was not ready at that time to accept with any enthusiasm the thought of hostilities with the British Army.[272]

This tactic was in evidence when Private Higgs of the 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders encountered a gunman whilst off duty: 'a civilian came up with a revolver in his hand and said "It's alright, Jock. I won't shoot you. We are after the R.I.C."'[273] This demonstrated both the unwillingness to kill soldiers unnecessarily and the lingering capacity to distinguish the 'Jock' from other British soldiers. It would be wrong to suggest that it was some lingering affection for the Scot which stayed the gunman's hand, Gordon Highlanders were targeted whilst on a civilian train in County Dublin by IRA bombs and shooting in July 1921 showing that they were clearly considered legitimate military targets.[274] Indeed, the Scottish soldier clearly retained a symbolic importance to their Irish adversaries. Eamon Broy of the IRA began his witness statement recalling the storied actions of an ancestor fighting a trooper of the Black Watch at the Battle of Rathangan, Co. Kildare, during the 1798 rebellion, and of how British reprisals had seen the nearby village of Clonbullogue put to the torch. Broy explained that the 1898 centenary of the rising had first exposed him and others to such stories and reinforced narratives of popular Irish nationalism as armed resistance to British rule.[275] Whether apocryphal or not, the tale of Irish nationalist defiance of British military power represented by a Scottish Black Watch trooper, had as much relevance in 1921 at the end of Union as in 1798 on its eve.

Class, Religious and Gaelic Identities

The British army was almost unique among European powers in nineteenth-century Europe in that the purchasing of commissions survived into the 1870s. Outside of the artillery and engineer regiments money alone was sufficient to acquire officer rank. This 'purchase' system was seen by its exponents as vital to ensuring the continued independence of the army from outside influence, and by the British upper-classes as

[272] Darrel Figgis, *Recollections of the Irish War* (London 1927), p.262
[273] *Irish Times* 11 February 1920, p.6
[274] *Irish Times* 9 July 1921, p.5
[275] BMH WS1280 Eamon Broy 31 October 1955, pp.3-4

a means of ensuring their continued effective control of the army as an institution.[276] David French has identified the eventual abolition of 'purchase' as 'part of a wider programme of remodelling aristocratic institutions to ensure their survival in a new age of mass politics.' There was no great change in the social make-up of the British officer corps until the first world war, it remained dominated by the public-school educated gentry and wealthy commercial classes, with a smattering of 'hereditary' soldiering families.[277] For the Scottish regiments, Diana Henderson has also emphasised continuity in an officer class largely rooted in the landed gentry, and she importantly emphasises that Scotland had a particularly large pool of historically-titled gentry families who lacked large incomes or wealth. For such individuals, army commissions offered an important means of reinforcing social status.[278] Perhaps understandably then, the experience of Scottish officers in Ireland differed from that of the men under their command. The personal recollections of William Bontine Cunningham Graham (William Bontine henceforward, see footnote) of his service in Ireland with the Scots Greys, *Five Years in Ireland*, from 1846 onwards reveal how experience of Ireland differed for the officer class.[279] He clearly shared with the rank and file's a distaste for the 'police work' of prisoner escort duties, describing one such route between Clonmel and Cashel as 'the worst escort generally for violence, for the people sometimes pelted us with bricks and stones and one day fired at me when I was riding ahead of my escort'. However, Bontine also describes a long succession of hunts and balls he and other officers took part in, usually in conjunction with the local gentry. This contact also included specific protection duty, as Bontine described service in the vicinity of Lord Castlemaine's estates in Westmeath: 'he was very civil to us and I found his house very pleasant. We twice had to garrison his house for him as they threatened to shoot him.' 'They' were implied to be unspecified rebels of some shade. Bontine and his fellow officers clearly enjoyed the chance to be hosted by the nobility, and he was clearly able to draw a distinction between the gentry with whom he socialised and the general Irish populace. Following one recruiting party he described the '400 unwashed

[276] Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe 1770-1870* (Paperback Edition Stroud 1998), pp.231-9
[277] French, *Military Identities*, pp.31-8
[278] Henderson, *Highland* Soldier, pp.90-4
[279] The Cunningham Grahams had inherited lands from the Bontine family requiring them to adopt the name Bontine as a condition of inheritance, this usually meant that the eldest son assumed the surname Bontine until the death of their father, when they would revert to Cunningham Graham having gone through the process of inheritance. During his time in Ireland it is most appropriate to call William by his contemporary surname, Bontine.

dirty ragged savages' that had been obtained for training, and this unflattering description was accompanied by numerous indications of his detachment from the bulk of the native population. Bontine was convinced that the hunting and shooting indulged in by his fellow officers 'was very popular with the people and kept them quiet', and described numerous occasions where the regiment hosting balls and putting on races in attempts to entertain the local inhabitants. Nowhere was the detachment perhaps more evident than in Bontine's brief allusion to the famine conditions he encountered in County Galway:

> (W)e found the people in a state of absolute starvation. The children were perfectly naked up to the ages of 14 or 15 and their legs were not as thick as my wrist. The potatoes failed year after year and the people did not know where to turn for food. Scobell and I set up a little yacht. She was 17 tons and carried black sails.

His ability to brush over the hardship of the villagers in a few sentences and to move on immediately within the same paragraph to the description of his new yacht is indicative of Bontine's narrative. His Irish service is presented as a series of social and sporting gatherings intermixed with night time escapades in breach of curfew with his fellow officers, sometimes rudely interrupted by the tedium of military service necessitated by the unruly natives.[280] A glance through the betting books kept in the officers' mess of the 78th regiment during their stays in Ireland during the 1820s certainly gives a sense of these social aspects of officer life. Bets, usually in the form of bottles of port and seemingly involving only the junior officers, were placed upon the numbers of partridges or larks an individual might shoot at the hunt that week. Other wagers varied between consideration of high politics, for example on whether or not Catholic Emancipation would pass the House of Lords, to walking on stilts, to the 'Grand sweep stakes' on where the regiment would next be stationed.[281] Whilst these illustrate the social function provided by gambling for a small group of relatively young and relatively well-off men away from home, they also contrast sharply with the image presented by regimental histories of Irish duty in the 1820s as being consistently arduous and trying. The close relationship described by Bontine between army officers

[280] NLS Acc 11335/7 *Five Years in Ireland*, William Cunninghame Bontine Graham

[281] *Betting Book of the 2nd Battalion 78th Seaforth highlanders 1822-1908* (London 1909), *passim.*

and the Anglo-Irish gentry has been emphasised by Edward Spiers. The nature of service in the early-nineteenth century meant that soldiers in detachments were frequently billeted with such gentry, and Spiers has argued that the officers and their men were welcomed as 'a boost to trade, socially desirable... and, above all as a bulwark for loyalism.'[282] The presence of young officers from noble backgrounds offered the chance for match-making and helped the Anglo-Irish gentry cement their 'affinity' with the British landed class.[283] This picture would largely remain unchanged until the outbreak of the first world war. As one later example, Lachlan Gordon-Duff came to Ireland in 1904 as a Lieutenant in the Gordon Highlanders. The scion of minor Scottish nobility, Gordon-Duff's experiences in Edwardian Ireland, mirrored those of Bontine in terms of his leisure activities. His diaries 'painted a picture of an intense sporting and social life', he himself owned several horses and was active at hunts and race meets across southwestern Ireland. Whilst garrisoned in Cork, Gordon-Duff would marry Lydia Pike in a large ceremony presided over by the Bishop of Cork. Lydia was the granddaughter of Ebenezer Pike, who had successfully founded the Cork Steamship Company. Their marriage demonstrated both the trend of mercantile new money seeking marriage into the minor nobility, but also of the importance that British army officers had as marriageable men of status for otherwise isolated Irish Protestant communities. This was not limited to Ireland or Scotland, indeed Gordon-Duff's mother was herself relatively new to wealth, being the daughter of Scottish millionaire chemist Charles Tennant. This gave Gordon-Duff direct familial connections to several prominent British families, including that of future Prime Minister H.H. Asquith. The officer class of the Scottish regiments would largely remain integrated within these wider upper-class social circles whatever part of the United Kingdom they hailed from or found themselves in. Gordon-Duff's own account of Ireland seemed entirely focussed on his sporting and social calendar with little discussion of Irish life outside the Big House or barracks. His own son and biographer would write that 'it is not hard to sympathise with the genuine Irish people, who so far have not been mentioned in the diaries and to whom the country belonged.'[284] Whilst this view of 'genuine' Irishness inevitably reflects the contemporary reality of the independent Republic

[282] E.M. Spiers, 'Army Organisation and society in the nineteenth century' in Bartlett and Jeffrey (eds.) *The Military History of Ireland*, p.342
[283] Ibid., pp.342, 357
[284] Lachlan Gordon-Duff, *With the Gordon Highlanders to the Boer War and beyond: The story of Captain Lachlan Gordon-Duff 1880-1914* (Macclesfield 1998), pp.11-2, 24-5, 321-4

based on an exclusively Catholic nationalism and fails to recognise the validity of a contemporary Protestant Irishness, it does also reinforce the very clear divisions which existed between the class of society to which the officers belonged and the rest of the population, whether civilian or military. Both Scottish officers and the Irish gentry belonged to a class in which nationality was little barrier to movement.

The influence of religious differences on respective views of national identity should not be ignored. In 1814, Joseph Donaldson's surprise at the friendly reception soldiers received from the lately rebellious population prompted him to seek local opinions on the nature of the 1798 rebellion. The responses he got shed light upon how religion influenced the Irish view of the Scots in general. Speaking to a Protestant he was told that Catholics had been behind the rebellion and that they represented a shared threat:

> Do you think that we could live in safety here an hour if it was not for the military? ... when they look smiling on your face they are wishing for an opportunity to cut your throat... You should join our orange club man- sure, two of your officers have.[285]

Speaking to 'a very intelligent Catholic', he received a different type of answer: 'Would your countrymen suffer what we have done without trying to shake themselves free of the yoke?', the man went on to draw comparison between Ireland and the historic struggles of Scotland to secure its own distinctive identity, arguing that 'now in possession of dear earned privileges, you look back with pride and exultation at what they achieved. But what is in you esteemed a virtue, is with us a crime'.[286] Here we see two different forms of Irish identity interacting with Scottishness: for the Protestant Irishman the shared Protestant faith was the point of mutual identification; the Catholic Irishman drew upon the idea that Scots should empathise with the Irish as fighting for the privileges of a distinct identity that Scots enjoyed within the Union state. For his part, Donaldson seemed refreshingly willing to consider the Catholic point of view against the views of his co-religionist.

David Anton's account of his second spell in Ireland also hints at how religious outlook affected his view of Ireland and the Irish. Describing the Wildgoose Lodge 'atrocity', during which the resident Catholic family was killed when the building was burned

[285] Donaldson, *Eventful Life of a Soldier*, pp.220-1
[286] Ibid., pp.223-5

down, Anton ascribed the violence to 'that bane of Ireland's peace, an association of Roman Catholics', and seemed surprised that the victims 'possessed the same foreign creed'.[287] Anton was more positive about a Quaker community he encountered in Clonmel, concluding that 'happy would it be for Ireland were all its inhabitants of this sect', and expressed disapproval that their schools had been closed because 'the priests of the Romish faith raised the cry of heresy'.[288] These views were not shared by William Bontine, whose outlook towards both the Catholic clergy and Quakers contrasted sharply with Anton. Bontine showed himself perfectly able to get on with priests describing how he had made the acquaintance of 'two very capable priests. Father Chapman and Father Byrne.' It soon became apparent what made them capable in Bontine's eyes: 'Father Chapman was a very good billiard player and Father Byrne was very fond of snipe shooting.' Their amenability to the sporting and social activities of a British army officer made the priests acceptable in Bontine's eyes. By contrast he described being 'billeted with a Quaker with whom I had a great row' at Thurles, the cause of which being that the Quaker had objected to Bontine's leaving the billet to attend a 'fancy ball'. This denial of Bontine's social activities had sinister repercussions for the Quaker, as upon leaving Thurles, Bontine's subordinates, presumably in an attempt to impress him, ransacked the man's home: 'we paid him off sir for his incivility… he ought to have been civil, so the 2nd Dragoons and I robbed him of everything we could take… when the regiment marched we stripped back and carried off all the keep of his house and broke 2 or 3 windows.'[289] Bontine gave no indication that he disapproved of these actions. Clearly, as with other individuals in other situations, the personality of Bontine and the nature of his personal encounters with the priests and Quaker outweighed any generalised views he held towards either religious group.

Religion could, however, seemingly be used to inspire violence towards the soldiers. During the Christmas period in 1821 a party of the 42nd was attacked because a crowd of people had heard rumours that 'soldiers were breaking in (to the church) to kill the priest'. During the ensuing violence shots were fired and several members of the

[287] Anton. *Retrospect*, pp.270-4
[288] Ibid., pp.289-290
[289] NLS Acc 11335/7 *Five Years in Ireland* William Cunninghame Bontine Graham

crowd were killed.[290] Anton personally expressed his regret for the loss of life.[291] Clearly, religion could provide a reminder of difference between the majority of the Irish and the Scots, the words 'Romish' and 'foreign' used by Anton clearly mark a hostility towards Catholicism as an alien doctrine. It should be pointed out that this was specifically directed at Catholicism, as his positive view of the Quakers demonstrated.

In north-eastern Ireland, shared religion offered the chance for positive engagement with local people, as in this example of soldiers donating money to local Presbyterian causes:

> We have pleasure in noticing an instance of generosity in a party of Scotch soldiers, characteristic of the religious spirit which distinguishes their country. The members of the Presbyterian congregation of Downpatrick had occasion lately to raise a contribution among themselves, for some repairs of their meeting house... the soldiers composing the detachment of the 72nd Regiment, who attend public worship in that house, immediately on returning from it to their Barracks, subscribed each a day's pay, which they presented to the Treasurer of the Committee in aid of the contribution, and insisted on his acceptance of it.[292]

James S. Donnelly Jr. in his study of the Rockite disturbances of the 1820s has argued that the presence of Protestant soldiers served to increase tensions rather than decrease them. Donnelly argues that the prevailing view of the army was as 'a force designed especially for the protection of Protestants' meant that sectarian tensions could not be avoided. Catholics in the areas concerned were confronted with the reality of their situation 'when the soldiers marched on Sundays to what had once been sparsely attended services in the local Protestant church'.[293] Responses to the religion of Scottish soldiers drew upon existing religious fault lines in Irish society.

Explicitly labelled religious violence was a frequent cause of troop deployment in Ireland during the later-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century. The 78th experienced a flurry of such incidents during 1872 and 1873. Firstly the regiment 'was employed in the aid of the civil powers in the suppression of very serious riots in Belfast

[290] Anton. *Retrospect*, pp.307-310
[291] Ibid., pp.309-310
[292] *Belfast News* 16 June 1826 p.2
[293] Donnelly Jnr., *Captain Rock*, p.143-4

between the Roman Catholics and Orangemen, which raged from the 15th till about the 24th August 1872'; before being sent to Lisburn in October as further sectarian clashes occurred 'for the purpose of aiding the civil power in their suppression'; and this type of 'exceedingly trying duty' continued into 1873 as 'during the following February and March disturbances were apprehended at Monaghan, Downpatrick, and Ballymena, and detachments were sent at different times to assist the civil power in preventing collisions between the rival parties.'[294] Upon their departure from Ireland in May 1873 'the streets along the line of the march were crowded, and the inhabitants gave vent to their feelings of good will by continuous cheering', this would suggest that the regiment succeeded in maintaining cordial relations with the civilian population.[295] Similarly the 1st Battalion Highland Light Infantry 'was called upon to perform some very hard work and exceedingly unpleasant duties for a period of nearly four months- being constantly employed in aid of the Civil Power in the suppression of the celebrated Belfast Riots of 1886.'[296] Religious violence was not limited to Belfast and the north-east of Ireland, William Scott of the 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders recalled being sent to Arklow, County Wicklow, as part of a company to 'quell the rising and restore order' following 'religious disturbances' in 1890.[297] The reception of Scottish soldiers in Catholic Ireland seems to have become more hostile as time passed. Scott noted that upon the arrival of his battalion at Fermoy in 1890 'the Highlanders were somewhat dreaded, owing no doubt, to religious differences.'[298] The 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders at Cork between 1904 and 1907 found that 'the town was shy of a Presbyterian battalion', and during the battalion's stay in the town 'ugly incidents began to occur, men being set on and "hammered"'.[299] The good will of the populace was now qualified as 'folk showed them the traditional Irish kindness and hospitality, unless religion or politics stepped in.'[300] In Belfast the use of soldiers rather than police to tackle issues of law and order was often deliberate. Charles Townshend has argued that 'only the military- who were regarded as fellow British Protestants-

[294] H. Davidson, *History and Services of the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs) Volume II 1793*-1881 (Edinburgh 1901), pp. 27-8
[295] Ibid., p.28
[296] *Regimental records of the Highland Light Infantry*, p.64
[297] William Scott, *In a Scarlet Coat* (Edinburgh 1911),p.14
[298] Ibid., p.15
[299] Lt. Col. A.D. Greenhill-Gardyne, *The Life of a Regiment: The History of the Gordon Highlanders, Volume III 1898-1914* (London 1929), pp.345-6
[300] Ibid., pp.345-6

could enter the shipyards or the Shankhill.'[301] The King's Own Scottish Borderers found a novel way of policing this sectarian divide in the shipyards in 1910:

> Protestant and Catholics had fought in the lunch breaks but after a time a successful way of dealing with the fights was to turn on a piper to play. The crowds of workmen were well enough disposed towards the troops and both sides would come and watch the piper.[302]

As has been seen, during their duty in Belfast in 1922-3, the 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders had taken a dim view of both sides of the religious divide. Arguing that there could 'be no differentiation in the activities of the religious sections', the regiment clearly felt caught in the middle of a wider conflict, reflecting that 'the Crown Forces are alternatively applauded or condemned by the rival factions when armed men are shot down in the streets.'[303] From the soldiers point of view, the religious identity of those shooting at them mattered little when it was their duty to preserve the peace.

Of course, some of the Highland regiments had traditionally recruited from areas in which Scottish Catholicism remained a strong presence. The determination of the Camerons to identify the 1907 Belfast rioters as nationalist rather than as Catholic perhaps came from the makeup of the Camerons themselves. In 1903 the 2nd Battalion of the regiment was shown to have only thirteen Irishmen within its total strength of 944, but 133 Roman Catholics, who must have mostly been Scottish born if we assume that the battalion's 99 Anglicans were provided mainly by its 96 English recruits.[304] If this pattern had continued then a large proportion of the soldiers in the regiment were Scottish, or English, Catholics and may have objected to the identification of their religion with the rioters. Religion could increase tensions between soldiers and the Catholic populace and create bonds between soldiers and the Protestant population. Yet it seems a shared Catholicism neither bound the Irish to the more Catholic regiments nor provoked hostility towards those regiments in Protestant Ireland. In this sense the religious make-up of soldiers and civilians seemed to reflect rather than contribute towards the existing alignments between political and religious affiliations in Ireland.

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[301] Townshend, *Political Violence*, pp.189-190
[302] Woolcombe, *Blue Bonnets*, p.99
[303] *Cabar Feidh*, Vol. I No.3 July 1922, p.115-16
[304] *79th News*, No. 71 January 1904, p.11

The perceived affinity between the people of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland is another vague yet recurring theme, particularly awareness of linguistic connections between Scots Gaelic and Irish Gaelic. For the Depôt companies of the 92nd in 1850s Galway a shared Gaelic language could ease social relations: the locals 'were most friendly to the Highlanders; all spoke Irish Gaelic, many had no English, and on market days, a painter would have revelled in the picturesque groups of pretty girls flirting with those of the Highlanders who could speak Gaelic.'[305] This seemingly idyllic scene suggests that ideas of a shared Gaelicism created a stronger connection between Highland regiments and the Irish than was possible for other regiments. From the Irish perspective, the perceived connection between Scots and themselves as Gaels or Celts was inconsistent. William Smith O'Brien, a leading member of the Young Ireland movement responsible for the 1848 rising deliberately raised this issue to encourage rebellion:

> I am told that the Scotch soldiers are the part of the army upon which the government rely chiefly for their operations against the Irish people. Can you and I forget we are children of the Gael? Can you forget that these Scotch soldiers, these Highland regiments, are, in fact, like ourselves, children of the Gael; that they at this moment speak the same language, which is spoken throughout a great portion of the south, and west, and north of Ireland; that they are of the same kindred with ourselves? And shall I be told that these noble men are prepared to come to this country, and receiving all the kindness, and hospitality, and friendship which ties of kindred and mutual respect create- that these men should be prepared to butcher this nation when they are contending for their rights? I will not believe it.[306]

It is clear that for the Romantic Nationalism of Young Ireland the idea of a shared pan-Celtic heritage and identity could have had its emotive attractions. However, contemporary opinion emphatically distinguished between Irish and Scots during the 1840s:

[305] Greenhill-Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment, Volume II*, p.80
[306] *Nation* 20 May 1848, p.6, extract of speech given by William Smith O'Brien in Dublin 15 March

> (T)he 88th (or Connaught Rangers) have been sent away, after only a month's residence here, to be replaced by the 79th Highlanders; from both of which facts I infer that the authorities *here* or at headquarters are apprehensive of provision riots, and therefore send us Scotch soldiers, and send away our *native* troops, fearing they would not do their duty in time of peril. This is rather an odd preparation for allaying hunger! A leaden bullet in the stomach is a bad substitute for a lumper potato.[307]

This report from Castlebar clearly distinguished between 'native' Irish and the Scotch soldiers, with the latter seen as more likely to deploy deadly force against the populace if need be. Romantic ideas of Gaelic unity were easily dispelled by this stark reality of relations between Scottish soldiers and Irish populace. Such ideas recurred during the open conflict of the Anglo-Irish War. Several IRA fighters recalled expressions of sympathy for the Irish cause from Scottish soldiers they encountered. Daniel Kelly, taken prisoner following Easter Week 1916, recalled among the escort of Scottish soldiers 'a lad called Ross from the Highlands' who 'wished there had been Sinn Fein in Scotland, that he would not have been with that gang (the British army) then.'[308] Likewise Patrick Mulloly spoke of his journey from Dublin to Ennis in 1918: 'I travelled with a party of Highland soldiers (Scottish) to Ennis and discussed politics with them, they agreeing that the English should be kicked out of Scotland as well as Ireland.'[309] Whilst there may have been truth to these recollections, there is little evidence that widespread sympathy among Scots for the Irish cause was seen as a cause for concern by the army hierarchy or that it limited the effectiveness of the Scottish regiments in their actions against the IRA. As William Sheehan has argued, whilst sections of the British military might have found it possible to 'accept [the IRA's] patriotism', 'hatred for the IRA' was also present, and both emotions were largely overshadowed by a general fatigue from military conflict in the aftermath of the Great War and frustrations with the British military and political leadership that dictated their role in Ireland.[310]

It may be the case that the pipe music of the Highland regiment was more accessible to Irish civilians than the more formal military bands of other regiments, and similarities

[307] *Freeman's Journal* 15 September 1846, p.2
[308] BMH WS1004 Daniel Kelly 5 September 1954, p.26
[309] BMH WS0955 Patrick Mulloly 3 June 1954, p.10
[310] Sheehan, *A Hard Local War*, p.71

between Irish country dancing and the dances known to the Highland soldiers may have facilitated fraternisation. An important corollary to this is that whilst the Highland regiments of the British army tended to retain a strong Scottish character this did not necessarily mean a Highland character, as these regiments increasingly attracted large numbers of recruits from the rest of Scotland.[311] So, by the mid-nineteenth century the imagined connection between the Irish and these Highland regiments perhaps rested more upon the symbolic association of these regiments with the Highlands than the reality of their composition. For some the increasingly Lowland make-up of the Highland regiments was a cause for relief, Simon Donnelly, whose views on the Scots as doing British 'dirty work' were discussed above, noted that 'it is consoling that they are not drawn from the Scottish Gaels, who, like ourselves, are struggling to rid their country of English tyranny.'[312] Whether this last remark was in reference to any concrete perceived nationalist activity on behalf of Scottish Gaeldom is unclear. Perhaps most likely is that it refers to the activity surrounding the Scottish Covenant in support of moderate Home Rule for Scotland from 1949, scarcely the sole preserve of those in favour of outright separatism, or the removal from Westminster Abbey of the Stone of Scone in 1950 by a small group of radical nationalists in the years immediately prior to when this witness statement was collected. In any case it is clear that a monolithic Scottishness broke down in some Irish eyes along the pseudo-racial and geographical lines of Highland/Lowland, and that for some the Lowland recruits of the Scottish regiments were tainted by the same vulgar urbanity that informed the negative characterisation of other British forces in Ireland such as the Auxiliaries. Glaswegians did in fact form the bulk of Scottish recruits to the Auxiliary Division of the RIC formed to undertake counter-insurgency measures against the IRA. Although Scots made up a smaller portion of this group than they did of either the RIC Special Reserve (the Black and Tans) or the regular army.[313] Once again, it should be pertinent that such viewpoints seemingly had no impact upon the conduct of hostilities. When the shooting began there were no Highlanders and Lowlanders simply men in British uniforms.

[311] Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army 1830-1854* (Manchester 1984), p.51
[312] BMH WS0481 Simon Donnelly 24 January 1951 ,p.3
[313] D.M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence* (Oxford 2011), pp.71, 108-9

Those uniforms, simplified and standardised by the demands of modern industrial trench warfare, had not always been so. For the duration of the union up to the Great War, the distinctively Highland appearance of the Scottish regiments, specifically their dress, had often been viewed with keen fascination by the Irish, and the Scots themselves took pride in the effect that they could have:

> On Monday, 2nd July, A and B double company made to Swords, encamping there for the night in a field at the back of the old church. We had a jolly evening in the village from 5pm to 7pm, returning to camp at the latter hour for a late dinner, after which we amused ourselves at cricket and dancing on the green... and with the assistance of two pipers (Lce. Corpl. McPhee and Piper MacLeod) the natives of the village were highly entertained and joined in the fun, some standing open-mouthed watching the Jocks (in kilts) dancing a reel or schottische.[314]

Those Scots regiments in tartan trews could find that the Irish drew unfavourable comparisons with the kilted regiments:

> Compared with the picturesque costume of the other Highland regiments which have been stationed here, it is considered by judges of such matters that that of the 74th, which is decidedly unique, does not gain by the contrast... the uniform, which, although as tidily put on as even the shade of Frederick the Great could desire, still suggests the idea that the troops are not properly dressed. The band appears to much more advantage than the battalion.[315]

As implied above, the military bands of the non-kilted Scottish regiments did adopt and maintain full highland dress, and also included pipers (a distinction technically only allowed to the five kilted regiments until 1881), explicitly maintaining a visible and obvious connection to their Scottish identity.[316] In Belfast during the 1920s, the 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders ascribed the popularity of their regimental band to the city's Scottish links: 'Scottish folk music is always especially well received in this city, which after all, is not to be wondered at seeing that so many of its populace are of Scots, or of partially Scots descent.'[317] It might be pointed out, however, that the

[314] *79th News,* No. 87 September 1906, p.9
[315] *Belfast News* 20 July 1847, p.2
[316] Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, p.8
[317] *Cabar Feidh*, Vol. I No.6 April 1923, p.280

popularity of a British army band in Belfast in the aftermath of both the First World War and the War of Independence, which saw northern unionists achieve their desire to remain within the United Kingdom, might be explained by more than just the Scottishness of the particular band.

Certainly, pipes and pipe music were often liberally used by Irish nationalists during the War of Independence, with seemingly little regard for the nationality of the music used. Irish volunteers recalled the Scottish tune 'Flowers of the Forest' being used as part of commemorative marches for the Fenian 'Manchester Martyrs' in 1917, and at the funeral procession of Terence MacSwiney through Cork in 1920, the Sinn Fein MP and Lord Mayor of Cork had died following a hunger strike in Brixton prison.[318] Florence Begley, an IRA fighter in Cork recalled several occasions where he played the pipes during engagements with the British forces, including one occasion where he was asked to do so personally by guerrilla leader Tom Barry:

> Tom Barry asked me if I had the pipes over at H.Qrs and if I would accompany the Column as the following day (Thursday) was St. Patrick's Day and it was intended to celebrate it in style by ambushing some lorries to the accompaniment of the pipes.[319]

On this occasion it was unambiguously 'Irish war songs' which were to be played.[320] Cleary if there was a shared appreciation between the Scottish regiments and elements of the national movement for the pipes as an instrument of martial mourning or action, it did not diminish the ongoing conflicts between the Cork Volunteers and the Cameron Highlanders.

Highland dress could also engender adverse Scottish attitudes towards the Irish. Following a ball hosted by the Earl of Aberdeen as Lord-Lieutenant in March 1907, one soldier present recalled with apparent disdain how easily impressed the Irish guests were by the clothes of those Camerons in attendance: 'One officer, clad in doublet and plaid, excited much comment, they were not quite certain whether he was a half-brother of Prince Charlie or a member of the Royal Family in disguise.'[321] A

[318] BMH WS0079 Diarmid Donneabhain, Appended letter27 November 1947, p.1; BMH WS1741 Part 1 Michael V. O'Donoghue n.d. , pp.76-8
[319] BMH WS1771 Florence Begley 15 March 1960 ,pp.1-2
[320] Barry, *Guerilla Days*, p.127
[321] *79th News,* No.91 May 1907, p.3

conversation between two guests was reproduced in mockery of their lack of knowledge concerning the etiquette of Highland dress:

> Oh, Mr O'Rafferty, *do* look at these funny men in kilts over there, aren't they comic?
>
> Yes, I see the Viceroy is wearing a kilt too, so I expect they are his A.D.C.s
>
> Oh, *is* that so, Mr O'Rafferty; then why do they all have different coloured kilts?
>
> Oh, well, Miss O'Rourke, that's because each one has a different kind of work to do, so his Excellency makes them wear all different tartans so that he can know which one is after doing what.
>
> Hove *very* interesting! Then why does that over on the other side wear a long shawl?
>
> Oh, didn't you know *that* Miss O'Rourke? Why That's because he's a piper (Sudden collapse of eavesdropper)[322]

The aim of reproducing this conversation was to find amusement in the apparent ignorance of these two guests. The humour is an appeal to soldiers who would understand the subtleties of the various forms of Highland dress. In this scenario their Highland identity becomes a point of division rather than connection between Scots and Irish, the Scots happy to be the bearers of their own distinct knowledge, and drawing a sense of superiority and identity in the face of perceived ignorance, in reality innocent and excusable curiosity, on behalf of the Irish.

During the Irish War of Independence, Douglas Wimberley recalled attempts by both sides to exploit the old idea of affection between Irish and Highlander to their advantage:

> (A)n unsuspecting road patrol, with their rifles stupidly clipped on to the side of their bicycles, were surrounded in a village street by a number of young men playing a game of hurley on the village green, a game akin to our own Highland Shinty. They apparently made friendly remarks and gestures, and gradually

[322] *79th News,* No.91 May 1907, p.3

> closed in on the cyclists. A few seconds later they had knocked the Jocks off their bicycles with their hurley sticks, and held up the men with revolvers.[323]

The soldiers were released, but the experience must have made them wary of any friendly gestures on behalf of the local population, genuine or not. The Camerons themselves attempted to exploit Gaelic speaking soldiers to undermine the IRA:

> One way in which we tried to obtain information of rebel activities was by using our Gaelic speakers. Some of the rebels knew Irish Gaelic, and those that did used it for reasons of secrecy. We accordingly sent our west coast Highlanders into public houses to listen but the Irish Gaelic was so different to the Highland Gaelic that I do not think anything was achieved.[324]

The realities of war made clear the superficiality of the idea of some form of cultural affinity between Highlanders and the Irish.

Upon examination then, it seems that the idea of a shared Gaelic identity between Scots soldiers and their Irish hosts failed to achieve meaningful significance beyond the superficial. The distinctive dress of Scottish regiments provided novelty for Irish onlookers and made Scottish regiments more easily identifiable, but, as has been noted elsewhere, their dress did not disguise the fact that, to an ever-increasing number of Irish eyes, the Scottish soldier was complicit in subjugating Ireland. For the Scots soldiers it was perhaps welcome that ideas of Gaelic or Celtic affinity could at times make fraternisation with Irish civilians easier, but the sense of fundamental difference remained between Scots soldiers and Irish citizens who refused to engage with each other beyond pre-formed stereotypes and expectations.

Conclusion

Over one hundred and twenty years of military service in Ireland had begun with Scottish soldiers serving in Ireland to establish the law and order of the new United Kingdom and had ended with them fighting to preserve intact the unity of that kingdom in some form. What is clear, however, from the experiences of these soldiers is that the reality of the United Kingdom never amounted to the acceptance by Scots and Irish of a single shared British identity. Certainly, a sense of Ireland as a ‘home’ posting

[323] Sheehan, *British Voices*, pp.173-4
[324] Ibid., p.179

existed, but this did not dilute the distinct identities of Irish and Scot. Beneath the clichéd references to stereotypical Irish ‘wit’ and ‘hospitality’, the Scottish soldier rarely attempted to engage with the reality of Irish life. Active service conditions served to remind soldiers that they were in a country often hostile to the very laws and existence of the United Kingdom which they served, and so the social and cultural barriers between Scots soldiers and Irish population remained. Cultural connections, real or imagined, between Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, whether through language or music, were played upon by both sides yet proved immaterial in the face of conflict. Religious differences perhaps were not as important as might have been expected, anti-Catholic feelings amongst the Presbyterian soldiery seems to have required provocation to become manifest, and the Catholicism of some Highland regiments seems to have been more a concern to the army command at certain times than of any interest to the Irish. For soldiers frequently called to police violent Irish crowds of all religions, maintaining a distinction between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants would have required determinedly blinkered vision. Ultimately, the realities of a visible Scottish military identity made it difficult to avoid the association of Scotland with what some Irish viewed as the occupation of their country. Scottish soldiers were required to police violence which a distinctly Irish cultural viewpoint saw as legitimate, yet by their very presence they simultaneously gave justification to Irish distinctiveness by offering a tangible reminder of the exclusion of the Irish from a core Britishness alongside Scots as equals. By the time of the War of Independence Irish nationalism had assimilated the language and rhetoric of a decidedly ‘British’ enemy. The final bloody rejection by nationalist Ireland of their place within the United Kingdom forced Scots soldiers to explicitly confront and accept a reality which their behaviour in the country had long acknowledged. Scottish martial identity had been (re)built upon traditions of imperial service, and their service in Ireland was always more akin to the duties of garrisoning an imperial posting rather than a ‘home’ station in Britain. Crucially, whatever romantic imagery came to define Scottish martial identity based on an ancient Celtic past, Scots soldiers in Ireland throughout the period were universally deployed to achieve emphatically modern ends. They were deployed initially as enforcers of the laws and values of the modern British State, and finally as defenders of its territorial integrity.

Scots in Irish Government, c.1820-1916

Introduction

The governance of Ireland within the United Kingdom was anomalous. Haphazardly integrated within the Union state it retained its own separate administrative apparatus and crown representative, ostensibly apolitical, the Lord Lieutenant. Lords Lieutenant were expected to maintain a vestige of a regal court in Dublin, usually at significant personal expense, and their duties included overseeing the 'Dublin-Castle season', a series of social occasions largely aimed at reinforcing ties between the landed interests, it goes without saying that these occasions were predominantly Anglo-Irish and Protestant. Beyond this the Lord Lieutenant enjoyed powers more in keeping with the traditional role of the monarch within the British constitution, control over patronage, alongside some prerogative powers to influence the justice system, e.g. to commute death sentences. [325] Beneath the Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, usually shortened to Chief Secretary, served as the chief executive officer of Irish government, now on behalf of the UK government, and was an appointment of the UK Prime Minister not the Lord Lieutenant, usually an MP it would be successive Chief Secretaries who faced the parliamentary questions of Irish nationalists in the House of Commons. The Permanent Under-secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, shortened here to Undersecretary, was the head of the Irish civil service, and like the Lord Lieutenant was nominally apolitical. The balance of influence and power wielded by the holders of these offices was extremely variable and largely depended upon the individuals involved, 'dependent upon residency, Cabinet membership and ability.'[326] Parliamentary reform and the increasing primacy of the House of Commons meant that as the nineteenth century progressed, political control passed away from the Lord Lieutenant, by necessity a peer, towards the office of Chief Secretary, usually an elected MP, though this was not a smooth transition, and assertive Lord Lieutenants could, with the support of the Prime Minister, assume responsibilities as an active administrator.[327] For large periods, particularly as constitutional Irish nationalism displayed its strength at the ballot box, the UK government would not have Irish MPs to fill the role of Chief Secretary, and as a result

[325] James H. Murphy, *Ireland's Czar: Gladstonian Government and the Lord Lieutenancies of the Red Earl Spencer 1868-86* (Dublin 2014), pp.8-12
[326] Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland* (London 1989), p.289
[327] For example Lord Spencer as Lord Lieutenant under Gladstone, Murphy, *Ireland's Czar*, p.6

English and Scottish parliamentarians were appointed to the role, often called on to oversee British policy in Ireland which could swing wildly between extraordinary measures of coercion or concerted attempts at assimilation.[328]

This analysis will focus upon the experience of Scots in senior government roles in Ireland, and examine the impact of their Scottishness on their experience. The study will focus upon the both the public utterances and private correspondence of these men, seeking to understand how they engaged with issues of national identity individually, and how they used national identity within wider political discourse. Such studies are perhaps distorted by the sample size available, and on the paucity of material available in the earlier cases. Certainly, it is the case that Charles Grant cuts a lonely figure for analysis in the 1820s. However, his experience offers an important link to Thomas Drummond in the 1830s, memories of whom persisted into the 1880s and beyond, the period during which the majority of the Scots dealt with here were active in Ireland and Irish affairs. During this period numerous men who might be considered, to varying degrees, as Scottish held Irish office in quick succession. George Otto Trevelyan held the Chief Secretaryship from May 1882 until November 1884, when he was succeeded by Henry Campbell-Bannerman who held the post until June 1885. John Hamilton-Gordon, the 7th Earl of Aberdeen, later 1st Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair, the latter addition made to emphasise his own personal belief in his affinity with Ireland and its people, held the office of Lord Lieutenant briefly during the year of 1886, and again between 1905 and 1915. During this latter period, Aberdeen's counterparts as Chief Secretary were James Bryce, 1905 to 1907, and Augustine Birrell, 1907 to 1916, both of whom had Scottish parentage and varying degrees of connectedness to Scotland. Brothers Arthur and Gerald Balfour held the office of Chief Secretary for the years 1887 to 1891 and 1895 to 1900 respectively. As contemporaries, these make for an interesting study in the matter of Scottish identity in Ireland due to the mixed nature of their links to the country. Unambiguously Scottish were Campbell-Bannerman and Aberdeen, both were Liberal, though they differed in their social backgrounds, the former a representative of the business classes of Glasgow, the latter a member of the aristocracy. Both were Liberals who came from traditionally conservative families. Though born and educated exclusively in England, Trevelyan's mother was of Scottish origin, he represented two Scottish constituencies

[328] Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia*, pp.2-3, *passim.*

during his parliamentary career, and twice held the post of Secretary for Scotland, this arguably reflected and indicated a recognised degree of Scottishness in him, though one which he rarely articulated for himself. The Unionist Balfour brothers had a Scottish father, and through him had inherited Scottish estates, however this aspect of their identity was often overshadowed by the fact that their mother was the sister of Lord Salisbury, sometime Prime Minister. For Gerald, the freedom to articulate his own identity was perhaps even more limited in that he was both Salisbury's nephew, and Arthur's brother. As a group, these men offer a good way into the way identity was self-articulated and externally imposed upon the holders of Irish office, and that the national identity of 'Scottish' was merely one possible means for the Irish to engage with these officials, alongside those of social background, character, and policy. More importantly, perhaps, to the broader themes of this thesis, the concentration of Scots in Irish office within the context of the Gladstonian turn to Home Rule demonstrates important developments in the intellectual themes of modernity and nationality already identified. The unique experiences of each officeholder will be used to highlight how their Scottishness shaped, if at all, their own conduct and reception in Ireland. There will also be a final brief analysis of those Scots who found places within the political sphere of Irish unionism, as distinct from the British party system. What emerges is a clear a sense of the subjectivity of identity, be it national, political, or class based, and the clear lack of any Irish sense of an affinity with these Scottish incomers, even if some of the Scots felt able to speak of such a thing.

Charles Grant

Other than the brief and largely uneventful tenure of Robert Dundas as Chief Secretary in 1809, Charles Grant, later Lord Glenelg, serves as the sole example of a Scottish Chief Secretary in early-nineteenth century Ireland. Grant held the office as successor to Robert Peel from 1818 to 1821. His father being a chairman of the East India Company, Grant represented a new mercantile elite and sat as MP for unreformed Inverness-shire. The Ireland Grant arrived in was one where violence was prevalent. Under the loose collective label of 'Whiteboysim', rural Ireland saw increased levels of faction and agrarian violence. Grant's predecessor Peel had been instrumental in setting up new civil law-enforcement mechanisms, the basis for the future Royal Irish Constabulary, to combat these threats. Concurrently, the failure to secure political rights for Catholics as part of the Union saw continuing political activity aimed at

securing measures of Catholic relief, or full emancipation. As Chief Secretary, Grant's task was largely seen as being the continuance of policies designed to pacify violence in the Irish countryside. For his part, Grant largely seemed to hold an optimistically positive view of Ireland and the Irish, or at least of their potential, and his own ideas of Irish policy encompassed a level of government proactivity not in keeping with the dominant ideas of early-nineteenth century government. Grant's contributions as Chief Secretary to the House of Commons offered a glimpse of his views towards Ireland, particularly on these issues of law enforcement and on Catholic emancipation, whilst his private correspondence with the Prime Minister, the second Earl of Liverpool, reveal a man committed to his job and with a clear focus on the material needs of the Irish population. The analysis of Grant's views below relies on extensive quotations from these few sources. Together, these limited pieces of evidence of Grant's tenure presents a Chief Secretary sympathetic to Catholic grievance, hostile to Orangeism, and who recognised Ireland's need for investment and material improvement.

On taking office Grant seemed to have possessed a clear idea of what his role entailed:

> My great aim, I conceive, should be to lead the attention of the people to these things in which they feel a common interest in preference to dwelling with animosity on those in which they differ. In the importance of extending education, and of prosecuting internal improvements, there appears to be a very general concurrence of opinions… The education of the lower orders seems to be the grand instrument of civilizing them, and the further improvement of the country the best means of providing for the subsistence of its numerous population. Both the country and the people are very interesting… I cannot help being animated by the prospect of the opportunities which seem to present themselves of promoting the welfare of so valuable a part of the empire.[329]

Grant's supposition that Ireland needed educating and 'civilising' was consistent with contemporary views of Ireland as undeveloped or backward; but crucially the idea that it *could* be civilized, that there was nothing inherently inferior about the Irish people, was an example of the key Enlightenment principle of universality, that all humans

[329] BL Add MS38273 Grant to Liverpool 13 October 1818

have the same inherent capacities and failings.[330] Improved education could make the Irish as civil as any other member of the union, and crucially in Grant's reasoning would lead to a virtuous circle of material progress. Grant's focus on the need and justification for economic development in Ireland was consistent throughout his term of office, writing several lengthy letters to Liverpool on the need for government support in such action, linking economic distress directly to agitation in the Irish countryside:

> The most unfortunate circumstance in our situation is the extreme want of work which universally prevails. It is worthy of some consideration, whether some public assistance may not be given in this emergency. There are strong reasons for it – not only on the ground of humanity, but also with reference to political disturbances. Want of work creates in this country a readiness to join any effort against the laws. If some timely aid, rendered at small expense which, I am aware, is a consideration not to be lost sight of, should avert commotion, it would be well repaid.[331]

It might be worth dwelling on the idea of 'humanity'. In Hume's terms 'humanity' conveyed the morals and temperaments of a distinctively modern society, the desire for peacableness and respect for the desires of the individual. That Grant assumes himself to be capable of demonstrating 'humanity' towards the Irish, is at once a signal of his own modern moral outlook, and an indication of his belief that Irish society lacked, for now, those same characteristics. Crucially, 'humanity' was seen as being the natural outcome from the development of a civil and industrious (not necessarily industrial) commercial society, contrasted with 'languid' and 'idle' others.[332] Here Grant's argument that providing work programmes might provoke a corresponding improvement in manner and behaviour might be interpreted as an example of the Scottish Enlightenment trend of acknowledging the blurred line between cause and effect, if civil societies were industrious, might an industrious society become civil.

The idea of using money to facilitate the economic improvement of Ireland is one to which Grant would consistently return. In December 1819, he wrote another lengthy letter to Liverpool arguing for funds to be allocated for road building on the west coast

[330] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.202-3
[331] BL Add MS38280 Grant to Liverpool 16 October 1819
[332] Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh 1997), pp.138-9

of Ireland. Grant contrasted Ireland's prosperous east coast where 'the sea coast is open to the interior, and there is easy circulation of commodities' with the western seaboard 'full of resources which are as yet idle, because ridges of mountains shut out communication between the sea coast and the interior.' Grant was fervent in his belief that if 'resources were judiciously set in motion, I think it probable that the effects would surely more than repay the trouble and expense to Government.'[333] Grant drew direct comparisons between Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland in the eighteenth century. Grant acknowledged that in the case of Government 'grants to the Scotch Highlands' for road building 'more has been given than was perhaps expedient', yet he argued that the benefits had outweighed the cost, citing the success of Scottish Highland fisheries. Beyond Scotland, Grant also pointed to government intervention in eighteenth-century England:

> (T)he condition of Ireland differs much from that of this country with regard to the probable efficacy of Government interference, Nobody can doubt that 120 years ago a prodigious stimulus was afforded to the national industry and prosperity of England by the direct interposition of Government in a multitude of ways, which would be disapproved by our own modern political economists, and which were perhaps adopted on false principles. I take the present state of Ireland to be in some material aspects similar.[334]

This idea that Ireland should be judged by its own standards of economic development rather than rigidly held to the same political economic doctrines of contemporary Britain, was an idea which would not gain true currency among the British political establishment until the implementation of land legislation from the 1870s onwards.[335] Grant conceded that his proposals 'must be regarded, and must be applied, as experimental.', but they demonstrated his willingness to understand and appreciate the unique nature of Ireland's political and economic difficulties. [336] Unlike later government attempts to cater for Irish distinctiveness, which largely saw Irish customs and ideas legislated into acceptance by the UK parliament, Grant's position remained embedded in Enlightenment universalism. His was not the acceptance of Irish difference as an equally valid mode of existence, merely the acknowledgment that

[333] BL Add MS38282 Grant to Liverpool 28 December 1819
[334] Ibid.
[335] See below p.195-6; Clive Dewey, 'Celtic Agrarian legislation and the Celtic Revival', *passim*
[336] BL Add MS38282 Grant to Liverpool 28 December 1819

Irish difference might require exceptional tools to be brought in line with the rest of the union state's modern values.

Grant's belief that material distress was the main fuel of Irish agrarian violence and political disturbances perhaps explains why he staunchly opposed the renewal of the Insurrection Act, which had seen extraordinary measures of law enforcement imposed upon Ireland alone of the United Kingdom. In a wide-ranging speech, Grant touched upon what he saw as the causes of unrest in Ireland and on the wider issue of how the Irish should be treated within the Union:

> Was he to be told by gentlemen whom it was his interest and his wish to conciliate, that he was abandoning the cause of Ireland, because he was unwilling to place in the hands of the lord lieutenant and the government of Ireland a power which, until the passing of the Insurrection act, had never existed since the days of the Norman conquest?... (W)hat effect had it on the great mass of the people of Ireland? With what aspect had the constitution been always shown to them? Angry and vindictive. It had been exhibited, not as the medium of doing justice, but as affording the means of gratifying resentment. It was the essence of all good government, that the excesses of the people should be resisted by steady and constitutional, and not by extraordinary measures. More especially was it expedient that the people of Ireland should find that their crimes and excesses were met not by extraordinary measures but by the established laws, and by the constitution, in the common and daily exercise of its powers.[337]

Grant's appeal was made on the basis of applying universal principles, of having general laws applicable to all individuals within the state. This was a fundamental pillar of Enlightenment 'modern liberty', based on an individual's ability to choose with the state as guarantor of 'peaceful coexistence'.[338] Grant's recognition of historic Irish grievances, his opposition to coercion, and his belief in extending to Ireland the full benefits of the constitution all point towards a man largely in sympathy with the Irish and aware of the need to reconcile the Irish to the union sooner rather than later. Crucially, Grant recognised that the government owed its services to all of the Irish

[337] Charles Grant, HC Deb. 28 June 1820, vol. 2 cc.95-101
[338] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.128-9

population regardless of their religion, and that for many Catholics in Ireland the threat of law enforcement acting as 'the means of gratifying (Protestant) resentment' was real. This reality clashed with the modern ideal of the state as acting in the general interest rather than for any specific group.

The religious issue was of course one which Grant had recognised as being a difficulty on taking office, having stated his aim to avoid questions which might excite religious tension. On his appointment he complained to Liverpool that the Protestant press had made much of his previous statements in support of lifting some of the legal restrictions on Catholics, rejecting assertions that he was an 'Ultra-Catholic'. Grant restated his determination to eschew 'symbols of victory and triumph on the part of the violent Orange man' and to begin 'extending to Catholics of distinction and respectable character the usual social attentions paid by the Secretary to other persons of eminence in the country.'[339] Grant emphasised that his personal opinions would not stop him carrying out the stated policy of the government. Liverpool's reply was to emphasise that his government was based upon 'complete toleration towards persons entertaining all the different shades of opinion upon this question' and that 'your opinions on that subject could neither be a reason for your appointment nor an objection to it.' The Prime Minister's gentle reminder that 'it should always be realised that it is of some importance not to lose the confidence of the Protestants' might, however, be taken as an implicit instruction that the new Chief Secretary was not to openly court Catholic opinion in Ireland.[340] Grant later acknowledged that he had not had 'any intercourse' with Irish Catholicism, but espoused his frustrations with 'the jealousies and suspicions which are continually alive in both the great Religions denominations in the country, and apt to kindle on slight or imaginary occasions… irritability, which, I am bound to say, I have found to the full as sensitive on one side as on the other.' He explained that whilst he had received petitions on Catholic Relief, he had largely avoided giving any responses, though even this, he admitted, gave offence to 'the most decided of the orange party, though without any just cause.' Grant reiterated that it was intention to exercise his office 'according to the existing laws, in a paternal spirit of impartial goodwill to all its subjects.' [341] Grant's sympathies with

[339] BL Add MS38273 Grant to Liverpool 13 October 1818
[340] BL Add MS38274 Liverpool to Grant 20 October 1818
[341] BL Add MS38275 Grant to Liverpool 13 January 1819

Ireland's Catholics found public expression in the House of Commons as he responded to another Catholic petition in 1821, urging that the Irish be treated with dignity and respect so as to reconcile them to Union:

> 'The prayer of the petitioners contained nothing offensive or revolting: they asked for inquiry; they besought the House to examine their case; and, if their claims should be shown to be founded in policy and justice, to remove the disabilities under which the laboured… The calamities of the people followed, step by step, the system of degradation to which they were subjected; and the relaxation of the oppressive laws had been as invariably followed by improvement and increasing order…But did the exclusion of the Catholics from the privileges they claimed produce peace or any corresponding advantages? No. If there was danger to our establishments from the admission of the Catholics, there was greater danger from their exclusion… Besides, a government ought not to found its security on the weakness of its subjects, but on their confidence. There was no part of the constitution which ought to depend on the powerlessness of any portion of the subjects. It was impossible to tell the countless and nameless ties by which the constitution attracted to itself the affections of subjects; and therefore it was madness to persist in any measure, the inevitable tendency of which was to alienate those affections…Let them look to the recent improvements in Ireland. They would find that even opportunity had been seized of educating all classes of society in that country. They would there see *a generous people making every effort, under every disadvantage, for improving the situation*, and enlightening the minds of the lower classes of society. There were securities springing up where they were least expected, as if sent by Providence to remove a base and illiberal pretext.'[342] (Emphasis added.)

Again, Grant recognised the legitimacy of Irish complaints and rooted his own position not only on the general principles of the constitution but on the need to show Ireland that union could work. Most interesting was his determination to show the Irish people in a positive light, both in terms of their law-abiding respectable petitioning activity and their desire for self-improvement. Grant's stance arguably owed its origins to the

[342] Charles Grant, HC Deb. 28 February 1821, vol. 4 cc.1021-5

original rhetorical spirit of Pitt's Union, 'the great enterprise of post-Union assimilation – always more impressive in the realm of oratory that in that of reality'. Yet in 1820 and 1821 Grant was seemingly ahead of the curve, as British acceptance of the need to attempt some manner of reconciliation with Ireland has recently been located towards the end of the 1820s and into the 1830s.[343] The available evidence of Grant's views demonstrated that he, a Presbyterian Tory, possessed a positive regard for the Irish in general, believing in their right to equal treatment under the law and in their inherent capability to achieve peace and prosperity on a par with the British mainland. These traits earned him praise from Daniel O'Connell, who called Grant 'the mildest, kindest and best public man Ireland has ever yet seen.'[344]

The most obvious indication of the awareness of Grant's Scottishness in Ireland were the communications he received from other Scots in the country. Thomas Gibson, a furniture maker in Dublin, wrote several letters to the Chief Secretary soliciting several appointments, from cabinet maker to the Board of Works, to a revenue inspector, and even as head of the city's lunatic asylum, on each occasion he was rebuffed. On each occasion Gibson sought to emphasise his status as 'the only person in business from Inverness in this city', and offered Grant numerous potential referees from his native town, from minister Alexander Fraser to Provost John Grant.[345] On learning that Grant was to leave his post in 1821, Gibson wrote again expressing his 'national pride in seeing the member of his native town the first official character in this Kingdom', before offering a final request for a government station.[346] Gibson was not alone in believing that local and national identity would induce Grant to support their employment. Barbara Stewart of Inverness sought to use her hometown connection to convince Grant to get her a job as housekeeper to the House of Industries in Dublin, whilst a William Davidson of Nairn attempted to use his service in the 93rd Highlanders to wrangle an appointment to the police establishment.[347] Although it seems that most of these appeals were unsuccessful, the patronage wielded by the Chief Secretaries

[343] Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia*, pp.23, 58-9, 63-6
[344] Daniel O'Connell letter to Marquis of Wellesly 11 July 1822, reproduced in 'Civis', *The Important Discovery; Or a reply from Civis, to a letter addressed by Daniel O'Connell, esq. to His Excellency The Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* (Dublin 1822), p.1
[345] CSORP/1819/375 Gibson to Grant 16 January 1819; CSORP/1819/377/1 Gibson to Grant 7 January 1819; CSORP/1820/455/2 Gibson to Grant 19 July 1820
[346] CSORP/1821/1426 Gibson to Grant 22 December 1821
[347] CSORP/1821/1620/1 Stewart to Grant 12 September 1821; CSORP/1821/1384 Memorial of William Davidson, No Date

office brought criticism for Grant. One hostile pamphlet produced by 'Quintius' compared Grant unfavourably to his immediate predecessor Peel in a scathing string of criticisms of Grant's tenure, most of which drew in some way upon his Scottishness. The reduction in law enforcement apparatus from Peel's time was identified as 'Scotch economy', an 'indiscriminate penny-wise system', whilst Grant's subsequent creation of an Extraordinary Police Force to aid the reduced agencies of law and order was put down to his desire to have 'a little patronage of your own'.[348] The author concluded by requesting that Grant, who was ' not a fellow countryman', 'assure your employers that though Scotchmen make tolerable scavengers, yet they are very bad Secretaries of State.'[349] It seems then that Grant's detractors in Ireland were well aware of his national identity and were willing to express their criticism of him in such terms. Perhaps this is evidence of what Daniel Owen Madden identified as the 'stupid prejudice against Scotchmen' which prevailed in Ireland during the early-nineteenth century. Madden was mainly concerned with the fallout of the appointment to Scottish judge John Campbell to the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1841. Madden argued that the outrage stemmed not merely from the fact that he was not Irish, but that he was also Scottish, and thus 'felt the full force of the anti-Scottish prejudices of the Irish.'[350] Grant himself seemed well aware of the pitfalls associated with the patronage he wielded or could influence. In January 1820 he wrote to the Prime Minister, the Earl of Liverpool, on the importance of finding a 'native Irish' candidate for the vacant Dublin archdiocese. Grant's position on this point seemed rooted in his own experience: 'a recent occurrence since my arrival here has shown me that the Irish are much more sensitive on this point of the introduction of strangers that I had conceived.' Grant went on to emphasise that 'in this country of all others, especially in the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage, it is necessary to *show* an aversion to jobbing as well as to act upon such aversion.'[351] What the occurrence that had brought this realisation home to Grant had been he did not say, but it is possible it was some reaction to his own status as a Scot occupying Irish office.

As to the criticisms of his 'Scotch economy', it was true that Grant was quite enthusiastic about potential savings in both the military and civil expenditure in Ireland.

[348] Quintius, *Farwell Letter to Right Honourable Charles Grant* (Dublin 1821), pp.4, 6
[349] Ibid., p.8
[350] Daniel Owen Madden, *Ireland and its Rulers since 1829 Part III* (London 1844)
[351] BL Add MS38282 Grant to Liverpool 27 January 1820

On his appointment he took some satisfaction in the potential for a £60,000 reduction in military spending (out of a total of £874,000), and offered some suggestions for further savings, including streamlining Irish recruitment, and reducing expenditure on new barrack infrastructure, looking forward to a service with 'fewer officers and of lower rank.' [352] In terms of the civil list, Grant hoped to be able to cut over £3,000 from its £18,000 total.[353] Perhaps most controversial were Grant's proposals to cut back on government grants to charitable institutions in Ireland, which he thought 'likely to be best managed when they are maintained by the voluntary contributions of individuals.'[354] Grant explicitly identified the Dublin House of Industry, the Foundling Hospital, and the Protestant Charter Schools as potential targets for reduced government aid. These latter institutions had been the focus of a length examination by Grant early in his tenure as Chief Secretary and would earn him the ire of established Irish Protestantism. Grant argued that the Charter Schools, charities founded on the principle of spreading education of the Protestant religion, wasted money on food and board for students that might be better spent on creating more school places. Whilst Grant saw this as a chance to expand Protestant education in Ireland, it was widely recognised that the potential for proselytization largely rested on the school's ability to remove the material burden of the children from their parents, what Grant termed 'furnishing an asylum to the outcast children of Catholics'. In Grant's opinion a centralised Protestant School system was required to provide the maximum amount of Protestant School places, and that if the established Church moved quickly 'it might safely undertake to win a race against the swiftest of its antagonists.' Grant rooted his suggestion in the fact that growing educational organisation on the part of Irish Catholicism threatened to overtake that of the Church of Ireland, 'combining as they do an extraordinary degree of economy with surprising efficiency for the dissemination or confirmation of the Catholic creed', and thus the systems of Protestant education required reform.[355] If Grant had private concerns, expressed to Liverpool, of the dangers to Irish Protestantism of expanding Catholic education, Irish Protestants reacted with hostility to interference within their educational institutions. Given Grant's publicly perceived Catholic sympathies, many

[352] BL Add MS38275 Grant to Liverpool 13 January 1819
[353] BL Add MS38280 Grant to Liverpool 16 October 1819
[354] BL Add MS38275 Grant to Liverpool 13 January 1819
[355] BL Add MSS38273 Grant to Liverpool 7 October 1818

were suspicious of the attempt to do away with institutions propagating the religion of the Church of Ireland. One pamphleteer attacked Grant's broader religious policies as a prelude to examining his proposals for the Charter Schools:

> From your very first landing you have gone on acting in direct opposition to the principles and conduct of all who have ever preceded you, by professing yourself a friend of the (Catholic) Association, and the protector of the sectaries of every denomination, who are known to be either the insidious or the avowed enemies of the Established Church.

Going on to attack Grant's association with Catholics in 'his private closet in the castle' and his 'friends, the Popish priests', what followed was a detailed criticism of plans to reduce government aid to the Protestant schools. Specifically, Grant's allegation that the money used to feed and lodge 2,500 children might be used to provide day education for up to 150,000 was seized upon. The author arguing that 'not even in your own country' were there more available schools than in Ireland.[356] This engagement with Scotland's reputation for its parochial school system, along with the awareness of his having 'landed' in Ireland as an outsider, were the only attempts to discredit Grant on the basis of his nationality. Rather the hostility of 'Anglo-Hibernus' was fuelled by Grant's seeming willingness to tolerate Catholicism. The letter also stated how Protestant Ireland had 'suffered (Grant's) panegyric on the peaceable state of Ireland'. Such remarks demonstrated that even if Grant might see no serious unrest in Ireland, merely isolated pockets of discontent caused by economic distress, for Protestant Ireland the threat of violence against their property and position seemed very real. Compared to his predecessor Peel, opponent of Catholic relief and who introduced extraordinary measures to enforce law and order in the Irish countryside, it is perhaps obvious that Grant, a Tory sympathetic to Catholic Relief, who saw material want rather than purely political discontent as the source of Irish disturbance, and who favoured the application of the ordinary laws of the British constitution, would have disappointed Anglo-Ireland. On the other hand, as has been seen, his attitude drew praise from quarters of Catholic Ireland. This should be less surprising given that the modern outlook on political economy and constitutional freedoms which characterised

[356] Anglo-Hibernus, *A Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant on the Declaration he has announced with-holding the usual Parliamentary Aid from the Association in Capel-Street; and his hostile designs against the Incorporated Society, Evinced in his letter to the Society on the 27th March* (Dublin 1820), pp.4-5, 10, 24

Grant's views, were largely present within the nascent O'Connellite movement for Catholic relief and later emancipation. Grant's Irish experience demonstrated a man in tune with the modernist assumptions of his day, whose main Irish opponents came not from the ranks of the nascent Irish Catholic nation, but from the privileged Anglo-Irish ascendancy. In his attempts at fiscal retrenchment and ending extraordinary laws, Grant, the scion of new mercantile wealth, was acting more like a later Liberal. Indeed, this was the eventual progression of his career, breaking with the Tory party over Reform and joining the Whigs in 1830. For Grant, like many contemporaries who made a similar move, this must have represented an embrace of modern political economy, the values of religious and constitutional freedom and free exchange, against the 'feudal' aristocracy of the contemporary Tory party.

Thomas Drummond and his legacy

Thomas Drummond served as Undersecretary of Ireland from 1835 until his death in office in 1840. The Edinburgh-born Drummond studied sciences and mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, after which he joined the army. Part of the survey corps, he served in Irish Ordnance Survey during the 1820s. In 1831 his experience with both mapping and mathematics led him to be appointed Chairman of the Parliamentary Boundary Commission, tasked with creating more representative constituencies. His successes in the role led to his appointment in 1833 as private secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, before his eventual appointment to the role as Undersecretary for Ireland.[357] In this role he formed part of an 'anti-Orange trinity' of Whig appointees alongside Lord Lieutenant Musgrave and Chief Secretary Viscount Morpeth. Taking their posts in the context of parliamentary co-operation between the Whig government of Viscount Melbourne and the O'Connellite 'tail' of Irish MPs, the 'sympathetic executive in Dublin Castle' engaged in numerous reforms to the policing and legal systems to give greater rights and roles to Catholics, and tended towards Catholic judicial appointments, four consecutive Catholic Irish attorney generals being appointed by the Whigs between 1835 and 1841. In parliament the Whigs and O'Connellites worked together to pass ameliorative measures for Ireland, the reform of the Irish Poor Law, the restructuring of Church of Ireland tithes (to put an end to the rural unrest known as the 'Tithe War'), and opening up Ireland's urban municipalities

[357] H. Palmer, 'Thomas Drummond' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

to Catholic political influence.[358] The context of a Castle administration united in their distaste for sectarian violence and support for Catholic political and legal rights, and a UK government partly reliant on Irish votes was arguably crucial for subsequent interpretations of Drummond's time as Undersecretary.

The historical mystique which has surrounded Drummond has met with only limited questioning. Peter Gray has argued that Drummond has 'tended to be elevated in historical memory' and that this 'overemphasis on Drummond may reflect a historiographical preference for the bourgeois (and perhaps Scottish) virtues of professionalism and administrative efficiency over those of a more effervescent aristocratic political populism.' Whilst Gray alludes to national identity, he does not develop this point, focussing upon useful analysis of Drummond's contemporary Chief Secretary, Viscount Morpeth, arguing that whilst at the time the aristocratic Morpeth was given equal credit for the supposed achievements of that particular Irish administration, Drummond, accessibly bourgeoise, reaped the historical plaudits.[359] Indeed, it was Morpeth whose departure from Ireland in 1841 occasioned the presentation of the 'Morpeth Roll' a farewell addressed signed by hundreds of thousands of Irishmen thanking him for his roll in promoting civil equality for Catholics in Ireland. Even this document should be viewed as less of a personal endorsement of Morpeth, but a wider 'tribute to the type of Whig government and politics he represented.' Musgrave, Morpeth and Drummond, a 'troika of enlightened officialdom', became associated with this distinctive period of accommodation between British and Irish Whigs and Liberals which occassioned loosely modern and liberal policy direction for the entire UK following the passage of the Reform Acts in 1832.[360] That Drummond alone should have become the focus for nostalgic sentiment concerning this period in later decades is arguably a result of his death in office. The mythos of Drummond, and the administration of which he was part, has an important part to play in understanding subsequent portrayals of Scots in Irish office. Ultimately for each individual concerned

[358] Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798-1998: War, Peace and Beyond* (Second Edition Oxford 2010), pp.43-6
[359] Peter Gray, 'A "People's Viceroyalty"? Popularity, Theatre and Executive Politics 1835-47' in Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (eds.) *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy, c.1541-1922* (Dublin 2012), pp. 163-4, 173
[360] Patrick Cosgrove, '"The unbought and spontaneous offering of a generous and oppressed people": the 1841 Irish testimonial to Lord Morpeth', in Christopher Ridgeway (ed.), *The Morpeth Roll: Ireland Identified 1841* (Dublin 2013), pp.10-11, 24; Christopher Ridgeway, 'Ireland's favourite Englishman?', in Ridgeway (ed.), *The Morpeth Roll*, pp.39-40

recognition of their Scottishness was dictated by Irish requirements rather than their own articulation of identity.

If Drummond was, as M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh suggested, the 'best known public servant' of nineteenth-century Ireland, then it owes something to the rhetoric which had surrounded him.[361] Drummond was held up as the model official in Ireland by two nineteenth-century biographers, Daniel Owen Madden in 1844, and John F. McLennan in 1867. This reputation rests on the record of the administration of which he was part in supressing Orange and Ribbon violence, and opening up the legal system in Ireland to Catholics.[362] Again, it is possible to see in these activities the principles of general and universal laws upheld by an impartial state apparatus. These were not immodest achievements, but were ones which, as Peter Gray has rightly argued, stemmed from the administration as a whole, not merely Drummond. Rhetorically this must also be placed within the political context of a post-Emancipation and pre-Repeal (and equally importantly pre-Famine) Ireland, where co-operation between the incumbent Whig government and O'Connellite Ireland was the order of the day.[363] For subsequent commentators this perhaps gave Drummond's time a glow of nostalgia, a fleeting glimpse as to how Ireland might have been successfully governed within the UK.

Drummond's status as an idealised official was cemented by the supposed nature of his personal connection with Ireland. Firstly, his service with the Irish Ordnance Survey during the 1820s was argued to have given him a unique perspective of the country and its people:

'He had an eye for nature, and liked to see the original character of the Irish – its wilderness and romance so congenial with the scenery of the Irish landscape – its dark spirit of brooding over wrong – its savage spirit of revenge for personal injury or insult to its poetical sensibilities – and its preference for the illusive and the fanciful over the actual and the true.'[364]

[361] M.A.G.Ó Tuathaigh, *Thomas Drummond and the Government of Ireland 1835-1841* (Galway 1977), p.6
[362] John F. McLennan, *Memoir of Thomas Drummond, Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1835 to 1840* (Edinburgh 1867), *passim.;* Madden, *Ireland and its Rulers Part III*, pp.45-60
[363] Ó Tuathaigh, *Thomas Drummond*, p.6
[364] Madden, *Ireland and its Rulers Part III*., p.50

An identical description of the Irish and Irish landscape might have been made by a British observer in a negative sense, but from the Irish point of view this was done positively. The fact that Drummond was perceived to be in tune with the native Irish, that he '*felt* the Irish nation', was a key reason for his popularity, both during and after his tenure.[365] These assertions drew upon a discourse of Irish knowledge which looked beyond the modern and the rational towards emotive and empathic understanding, as Madden characterised it 'to perceive the greatness of the Irish character requires other qualities than those of mere logical understanding.'[366] The explicit articulation of Drummond as 'a man of soul as well as science', of his 'union of thought and feeling, of a generous nature and a scientific mind' might be speculatively inferred as the juxtaposition of competing Celtic and Saxon traits, a duality which Drummond supposedly possessed and which allowed him to better understand Ireland. Drummond' death in office, worn out by his endless hard work forms another key part of the Drummond mythos. His deathbed request to be buried 'in Ireland the land of my adoption' and assertion that he had 'loved her well and served her faithfully, and lost my life in her service' reinforced the idea of a deep and personal connection with Ireland.[367] This was enough to see him acquire a degree of Irishness in the eyes of contemporaries, as Madden asserted: 'what will canonize the memory of that noble character is the fact that he *became an Irishman.*'[368] The quasi-religious overtones of his death, of his administrative martyrdom, and deathbed 'conversion' to Irishness would become recurring motifs when his story was retold in later decades. However, it is important to point out that Drummond's Scottishness was never *per se* a defining feature of how his time in Ireland was viewed by contemporaries, his Scottish origins served merely as the necessary starting point, which need only be un-Irish, from which he began the process of 'becoming Irish', by accepting that the Irish people had their own cultural values and norms separate to the rest of the UK.

The mythical legacy of Drummond was long lasting, and in the late-nineteenth century his name was often invoked by nationalist politicians as an example to successive British governments. From the perspective of the revival of parliamentary Irish nationalism of the late 1870s onwards, Drummond's experience became a recurring

[365] Ibid., p.51
[366] Ibid., pp.47-51
[367] Drummond's attributed last words quoted in McLennan, *Memoir of Thomas Drummond*, p.426
[368] Madden, *Ireland and its Rulers Part III*, p.59

example of what British government should aspire to be. The revival of interest in Drummond was apparent from the writings of Irish Home Ruler and author Richard Barry O'Brien. O'Brien wrote extensively on the historic context of British rule in Ireland in the union and a recurring theme of his works was Drummond, 'whose struggles with Ascendancy forces are implicitly presented as prefiguring the Gladstonian attempt to do justice to Ireland.'[369] O'Brien's work *Dublin Castle and the Irish People*, of 1909, effectively used 'Drummond's time' as a yardstick against which both historic and contemporary Irish government should be measured. O'Brien produced lists of all the officeholders in Ireland since the union, of Lord Lieutenants, Chief Secretaries and Under-Secretaries and categorised them in terms of their nationality, religion and whether they were 'in sympathy' or 'out of sympathy' with the Irish people, broadly defined as the rural, Catholic, nation.[370] O'Brien's analysis of the Liberals and Conservatives of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century and how they measured up to Drummond shall be dealt with in subsequent sections of this chapter.[371] Here, however, it might be useful to point out that this work marks the only significant assessment of Charles Grant in a historical context. Grant was identified as a 'Scotch' chief secretary 'in sympathy' with the Irish nation. In this narrative Grant, like Drummond worked hard in Ireland's best interests and was 'worn to death' by his work. Ultimately however, his impact was limited due to his being 'sandwiched' between 'a no-popery Lord Lieutenant (Lord Talbot) and a no-popery undersecretary (William Gregory).' Unable to enact positive changes 'Grant ought to have resigned, or died, or been dismissed.' Crucially, this analysis is perhaps an attempt to present Grant as a proto-Drummond, a man with the right ideas, but lacking the knowledge and determination to do right by Ireland effectively, 'Poor Charles Grant tried to clear the atmosphere of Dublin Castle and was 'worn out' in the effort. Drummond did clear it, and then he died.'[372] Clearly Grant's refusal to work himself to death marked him out as comparatively less committed to righting Irish wrongs. By contrast, Drummond was presented as strong and principled. He was 'the real ruler of the country', unrestrained by his colleagues in Irish office (though as has been pointed out these

[369] Patrick Maume, 'O'Brien, Richard Barry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online 2004), https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/57437
[370] Richard Barry O'Brien, *Dublin Castle and the Irish People* (London 1909), pp.10-16
[371] See below on G.O. Trevelyan, Henry Campbell Bannerman, James Bryce, Augustine Birrell, Lord Aberdeen, and Gerald Balfour
[372] Richard Barry O'Brien, *Dublin Castle and the Irish People* (London 1909), p.52-4, 64

were largely in agreement with Grant on how Ireland should be governed in any case). He understood the country: 'he knew Ireland. He loved the people.'[373] Again, Drummond's perceived willingness to understand the Irish position and to deal fairly with the country was held up as his chief virtue. Again, the importance of Drummond as an exemplar in Irish history was illustrated when of all the figures available O'Brien included a twenty-six-page biography of Drummond, and Drummond alone, in his two volume work *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland* in 1885.[374] The narrative was very much similar to those of Drummond's earlier biographers. Drummond's ordnance survey experience meant that he 'knew Ireland very well', and his work in suppressing the violence of both sectarian Orangeism and agrarian Whiteboyism through the ordinary law rather than extraordinary coercive measures was emphasised as his principle achievement. Crucially, Drummond served as an implicit promise to contemporary British Liberals on the standing to be won if they could follow in Drummond's footsteps:

> The spectacle of a stranger doing all this, devoting his life and all his great energies to the service of a country not his own won their (the Irish people) hearts… Drummond was steadily impressing the people with the belief that the English government was able to protect them from the territorial despots by whom they were oppressed, and the people were steadily showing a reciprocal confidence in the government.[375]

This was clearly informed by the same ideals that would characterise Gladstone's idea of a 'union of hearts' between the two countries rather than an enforced parliamentary union. If the British government would only do right by Ireland then it would earn its lasting gratitude and friendship. This same message would be reproduced in various forms throughout the later-nineteenth century by active Irish nationalists and directed at the British occupants of Irish government.

John Morley, a Home Rule Liberal made Chief Secretary in 1886, was urged to follow Drummond's example with regard to evictions in Ireland: 'do with regard to these evictions what Sir Thomas Drummond did during the Tithe-War when he was Chief

[373] O'Brien, *Dublin Castle*, p.63
[374] Richard Barry O'Brien, *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland 1831-1881¸Volume II* (London 1885), pp.429-455
[375] Ibid. p.450

Secretary. Sir Thomas Drummond refused to allow the constabulary and military to serve at evictions during the winter of 1833.'[376] Though this demonstrated an awareness of Drummond as 'a satisfactory precedent' for British officials in Ireland, it conspicuously failed to correctly identify the office he held or the period of his tenure, Drummond was not appointed to the role of Under-Secretary, not Chief Secretary, until 1835. A few weeks later John Dillon raised Drummond's example in the House of Commons, again as 'the only official of Dublin Castle upon whose example (Morley) may look with profit.'[377] This remark occasioned the reproduction in full of the Drummond myth. Though it gave cursory acknowledgement to the fact that Drummond had been 'a Scotchman' the narrative relied on familiar tropes of Drummond as a unique example of benevolent British officialdom, his last words, and his supposed dominant place within the administration, all of which was tied together with an undercurrent of religiosity:

> (A) man of noble simplicity of character, an administrator of supreme abilities, the solitary official who, like some pure spirit strayed among the fallen, makes one luminous figure amid the repulsive memories of Dublin Castle.
>
> Drummond was only Under-Secretary, yet he was the life and soul of Irish administration while he was in office.
>
> All his acts and utterances, to the last touching speech on his death-bed, prove him to have been animated by a singular love for Ireland.[378]

The upshot of this was the 'warm affection' which characterised popular memory of Drummond, who remained 'revered' in Ireland and whose statue graced Dublin City Hall.[379] Again, Drummond's own nationality was not important beyond being the point of departure from which his Irish experience unfolded. The significance of his memory being deployed during the height of anticipation for Home Rule in early 1886 is telling. Beyond a mere promise of Irish gratitude if given what they wanted, it also served to justify Home Rule, that only one official out of dozens under the Union had done a recognisably good job; and Irish nationality, that the reason Drummond alone had done a good job was because he alone had understood that the Irish were

[376] *United Ireland* 13 February 1886, p.4
[377] John Dillon quoted in *United Ireland* 27 February 1886, p.5
[378] *United Ireland* 27 February 1886, p.5
[379] Ibid., p.5

fundamentally different. Here, Drummond as a Scot was important merely because his status as an outsider gave weight to his apparent recognition of Irish distinction and grievance, and allowed for the narrative of his 'conversion' to Irishness.

As late as 1905, Thomas Power O'Connor, Irish nationalist MP felt able to invoke the memory of Drummond to challenge then Chief Secretary Walter Long on the treatment of Irish tenants by the government:

> He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman had ever heard of Thomas Drummond. He was a Scotchman, and in the days of the tithe war, when all the forces of the Crown were behind the landlords, Thomas Drummond frequently refused to give the assistance of the police to collect the tithes. Drummond often conferred with O'Connell on the subject in those days; but the Ascendency Press in Ireland were very much exercised when Sir Anthony MacDonnell went down to confer with an Irish priest for the purpose of restoring peace in a disturbed region. Thomas Drummond, he dared say, was beyond the historical knowledge of the Chief Secretary.[380]

Again, Drummond was held up by nationalists as an example to follow, and as evidence that whatever the record of British government's since, there had been a time when Ireland was governed fairly, and that a return to those conditions, in the shape of Home Rule, would not be inconsistent with previous British policy. The linking of Drummond's conduct to the contemporary Undersecretary Anthony MacDonnell, a Catholic Irishman with nationalist sympathies, again serves to reinforce the idea that Drummond's memory had become popularly attached to the nationalist cause in Ireland. John Redmond explicitly invoked this comparison in trying to justify Home Rule, contrasting Drummond's experience with that of MacDonnell:

> Seventy years ago a Scotchman named Thomas Drummond was sent to Ireland as Undersecretary, and showed a sympathetic spirit towards the Irish people. He ultimately had to suffer for doing so, but for a few years, at any rate, he was able to carry on the government of the country. This was because he was loyally defended by those who availed themselves of his services.

[380] T.P. O'Connor, HC Deb 03 May 1905 vol. 145 cc873-4

This narrative was an explicit criticism of how many Unionists had turned upon MacDonnell and George Wyndham (Chief Secretary, 1900-1905) over their plans for limited devolution in Ireland. Redmond cited Drummond as the first in a long line of British officials, culminating in MacDonnell, but including contemporary Liberals and Unionists, who had realised through experience that the structures of Irish government were not fit for purpose and that some form of Home Rule was necessary: 'Today it is Sir A. MacDonnell. Yesterday it was Thomas Drummond. Tomorrow it will be somebody else.'[381] It should be noted that Redmond's brief discussion of Drummond incorporated the familiar tropes of Drummond's direct emotional connection with the Irish people, and of his having 'suffered' to bring good governance to the country. As the outsider who recognised Ireland's nationhood, and governed her accordingly, Drummond's experience offered Irish nationalists a clear narrative to present to those British statesmen who supported, or could be persuaded to support, Home Rule. Irish engagement with Drummond's identity was clearly shaped by Irish political imperatives rather than any set attitude towards Scots as whole, and this was a pattern which would continue in the latter half of the century.

The Liberal Scots – Trevelyan and Campbell-Bannerman

The O'Connellite electoral success of the 1820s to 1840s was brought to an end by the Famine of the late 1840s. From the 1850s through to the 1870s Irish electoral politics largely reflected the contest between Liberal and Tory in Britain. From the 1874 election onwards however, a growing number of Irish MPs were returned under the banner of the Home Rule League under the leadership of Isaac Butt, which was eventually constituted the Irish Parliamentary Party under the leadership, from 1880, of Charles Stewart Parnell. At successive general elections the Home Rulers won a majority of Irish seats, mostly outside of Ulster, though it should be remembered that before the Third Reform Act, the party largely failed to win a majority of the vote, and often polled less well in actual votes than the Conservative party. The strong Irish influence at Westminster developed obstructionist tactics in an attempt to persuade the UK parliament of the necessity of granting Home Rule to Ireland. It was in this

[381] John Redmond, 'The Financial Case for Home Rule', in W.T. Stead (ed.), *Coming Men on Coming Questions* (London 1906), pp.70-1

context that the Liberal government under Gladstone would have to appoint Lord Lieutenants and Chief Secretaries from 1880 onwards, until the party lost office following Gladstone's decision to support Home Rule. Gladstone's success in his Midlothian Campaign in 1879 had demonstrated that 'the Scots were apparently prepared to put the quality of their MPs before the representation of local interests', and the Liberal party would frequently allocate rising stars from outwith Scotland to safe Liberal seats.[382] The relationship between an individual's national identity and their represented constituency offer a continuous theme in regard to both Liberals who held Irish office and to Scots unionists considered later. The Liberal Chief Secretaries considered here, George Otto Trevelyan, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, James Bryce and Augustine Birrell, were all identified as Scots at various points of their Irish careers, but had varying degrees of connections to the country. In Richard Barry O'Brien's *Dublin Castle and the Irish People* they were identified as 'English', 'Scotch', 'Irish', and 'Scotch' respectively, though these did not necessarily correspond to these men's views of themselves.[383] Born Scottish was Campbell-Bannerman, of Scottish parentage were Birrell and Bryce, and the latter was also educated in Scotland. Trevelyan cleaved to no Scottish connection beyond his constituency interests yet could be a 'Scotch' target for Irish nationalist attack. Lord Aberdeen's service as Lord Lieutenant in 1886, and 1905-15 will be considered as well. The experiences of these men will serve to demonstrate the subjective nature of national identity, whether self-articulated, or externally imposed, and the overarching political utility that such identities were subject to in an Irish context.

George Otto Trevelyan took office in May 1882 following the so-called Phoenix Park Murders, the killing of Chief Secretary Frederick Cavendish and Undersecretary Thomas Henry Bourke by Irish nationalists. These circumstances, which saw parliamentary Irish nationalism striving to disassociate itself from violence, served to afford Trevelyan an unusual amount of goodwill. *United Ireland* argued that 'Mr Trevelyan's appointment is a fair one' and that the killers of Cavendish had 'created in the minds of many patriotic Irishmen who detest foreign rule as thoroughly, if not more widely than themselves, a feeling of sympathy and consideration for the man who goes

[382] Christopher Harvie, 'The Golden Age of the Carpet-Baggers' in Christopher Harvie, *Travelling Scot: Essays on the history, politics and future of the Scots* (Glendaurel 1999), pp.86-7;
[383] Barry O'Brien, *Dublin Castle*, pp.10-2

to take his place.'[384] The *Freeman's Journal* commented that whilst Trevelyan's first act as Chief Secretary was to introduce a new Coercion Act, his parliamentary introduction of the bill offered 'an official pleading made to order, rather than a hearty personal adoption of the principles of the unlucky measure.' The paper believed that Trevelyan, the 'philosopher, historian and biographer, as well as a practical statesman', wished 'to be educated' on Irish governance.[385] Perhaps inevitably the realities of his duties saw his reputation swiftly tarnished in nationalist eyes. The image of Trevelyan as the Liberal scholar was turned against him, 'contrasting Mr Trevelyan the biographer and historian, and Mr Trevelyan the six month's Chief Secretary' became a useful way of attacking Trevelyan's alleged hypocrisy, that his authoritarian actions as Chief Secretary did not match the Whiggish disposition of his academic writing.[386] Continuing agrarian unrest, near-famine conditions, and evictions drew frequent comparisons to Oliver Cromwell. One satirical cartoon depicted Trevelyan receiving praise from Cromwell's ghost: 'I only drove them to hell or Connaught, or to the West Indies. You ship them off to the charnel-house or the coffin ship, Bravo! I say and praise God.'[387] In this instance it is interesting that continued portrayals of Trevelyan as 'pinch-of-hunger' did not draw upon his father's involvement in the famine of the 1840s. Trevelyan himself struggled to cope with the hostility he faced in defending and carrying out policies about which he had frequent reservations. Several times he felt compelled to request that Gladstone remove him from 'this terrible office', and expressed his opinion that the position of Chief Secretary was 'a forlorn hope', where 'the sacrifice of one man's nerves, health, happiness, and self-respect' was required to keep Irish nationalists distracted and from interfering in other government business.[388] Trevelyan's personal struggles were symptomatic of a wider Liberal disenchantment with continued coercion in Ireland, and whose breaking point would come soon with their adoption of Home Rule.

Depictions of Trevelyan's national identity were malleable depending on the needs of the hostile Irish press. He was usually recognised as English, or at least as the 'English

[384] *United Ireland* 13 May 1882, p.5

[385] *Freeman's Journal* 30 May 1882
[386] *United Ireland* 19 February 1883, p.4
[387] *United Ireland* 7 April 1883
[388] G.O. Trevelyan to W.E. Gladstone 20 August 1883; G.O. Trevelyan to W.E. Gladstone 26 July 1884, transcripts provided by Ewen Cameron

secretary' and representing 'England' in Ireland, the epithet of the 'English gentleman' stuck following one particular exchange in the House of Commons in which he delivered the line that 'though he might be an Irish Secretary he was still and English gentleman.'[389] The fact of his sitting in Parliament for a Scottish constituency, the Hawick, Selkirk, and Galashiels Burghs, was only occasionally used as a stick with which to beat him. In September 1883, *United Ireland* reported that the so-called 'Strome Ferry rioters' in Scotland had been released before completion of their sentences. The men had 'in their amicable Scotch way, as a protest against rail traffic on the Sawbath, attacked the engine driver and guard of a fish train, besieged a station, and broke the heads of all those who ventured to oppose them.' The paper even sought to take a moral high ground by criticising the Scots clergy who had supported the rioters maintaining that 'Ireland at least can still boast that skull-crackers are not the 'martyrs' whom her clergyman love to honour.' The description of the Scots and deliberate suggestion of accent in the word Sabbath spoke to a general mocking hostility towards the inhabitants of 'Godly Galashiels'. The paper's real target was Trevelyan who 'as a Scotch member' was accused of allowing these men to be released whilst Irish nationalists were imprisoned for similar, or lesser, offences under his Chief Secretaryship.[390] When he contested rectoral election at the University of Edinburgh he was compared unfavourably to 'the fine old Gaelic patriarch Professor (John Stuart) Blackie' who, unlike Trevelyan was 'one of the most single minded friends Ireland possesse(d) in Great Britain.'[391] Ironically, in the event of Gladstone's later conversion to Home Rule for Ireland, it would be Trevelyan who would overcome his initial opposition to support the measure whilst Blackie would remain a staunch opponent of Irish Home Rule until the month of his death in 1895.[392] In the end neither Trevelyan or Blackie won the office, which was narrowly won by Conservative politician Stafford Northcote, with accusations that the Conservatives had used the venerable Blackie as a spoiler candidate to defeat the Liberal Trevelyan.[393] The University Conservative Association, their own English candidate notwithstanding, had made an issue of Trevelyan's Scottish credentials:

[389] George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Sir George Otto Trevelyan: A Memoir* (London 1932), p.110
[390] *United Ireland* 29 September 1883, p.4
[391] *United Ireland* 3 November 1883, p.4
[392] Stuart Wallace, *John Stuart Blackie: Scottish Scholar and Patriot* (Edinburgh 2006), pp.256-9
[393] Scotsman 5 November 1883, pp.4, 9

> (I)t had been emphatically stated that Mr Trevelyan was a Scotsman. To that statement they had more than once given explicit denial - (cheers and hisses) - and he wished once more to do so. (Cheers.) Mr Trevelyan was born in the county of Leicester, and his parents were not Scotch. (Cheers.) Mr Trevelyan's grandmother was a Scotchwoman. (Loud laughter and great cheering.)[394]

Identifying Trevelyan as English rather than Scottish was only natural, he was born and educated in England, at Harrow and then Cambridge. His son's memoirs of his life offer no indication of any self-aware Scottish identity other than his relationship with his uncle the historian Thomas Macaulay.[395] On Trevelyan's dealings with Scots and Scotland it seems clear that the family regarded themselves as English, distinct from the Scots. His constituents in Hawick were his 'Scottish radical friends', whilst his appointment as Secretary of State for Scotland was 'a post he filled with pleasure to himself, and, so far as I can learn, with satisfaction to the Scots.'[396] The Trevelyans for their part did not seem to include themselves among 'the Scots' as part of any Scottish identity. Trevelyan himself, addressing his constituents on his return from Ireland, asserted that he saw himself as their MP as 'a guest of a most social and hospitable society, and a visitor in one of the most interesting and beautiful localities in the world'[397]. The language of 'guest' and 'visitor' did not suggest an assumed national connection with the Scots and Scotland. Others, however, were more than willing to identify him as Scottish, the Saint Andrew's Society in Dublin had invited him to speak at their annual dinner in 1883, this invitation was not usually accorded to those who were not considered Scottish, but in the end Trevelyan left office before the event.[398] Trevelyan himself rarely articulated any Scottish identity in his role, the nearest he came was citing his status as 'a Scotch member' when comparing Irish educational attainment to Scotland's:

> Ireland would stand very well by the side of England, though very badly by the side of Scotland; and, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, though he was a Scotch Member, he should not be satisfied until Ireland had got much nearer, and, if possible, quite up to the standard of Scotland. The fault was not in the Irish

[394] *Scotsman* 3 November 1883, p.9
[395] Trevelyan, *Sir George Otto Trevelyan*, pp.10-11, 18-20, 31
[396] Ibid., pp. 73, 120
[397] *Scotsman* 8 December 1883, p.8
[398] *Freeman's Journal* 2 December 1883

> children, whose natural cleverness and brightness was beyond all question… The defect in Irish education was really that which was pointed out in the Resolution of his hon. Friend. The inferiority of average attendances was not so great as was implied by his right hon. Friend, but it was quite enough to make the friends of Ireland uneasy.[399]

Clearly, Trevelyan displayed no emotive connection to the supposed superiority of Scotland's educational system as native Scots might have done. What is equally striking is his willingness to accredit the children of Ireland with potential equal to their British fellows and his seemingly genuine desire to improve the situation as a 'friend' of Ireland. Again, in Trevelyan's mind his connection to Scotland was through his constituents not his family background.

The selectivity of Irish engagement with Trevelyan's Scottish links were made apparent when his replacement as Chief-Secretary was revealed to be Henry Campbell-Bannerman, one headline proclaiming 'Another Scotchman for Chief Secretary'.[400] Campbell-Bannerman's appointment was greeted with little enthusiasm, but his national identity was unambiguously portrayed, whether as a 'Scotch nobody'; 'a Scotchman who has changed his name'; or as 'a stolid Scotchman, with a large plate-shaped face, usually devoid of expression… He may have great talents somewhere but up to the present he has carefully concealed them'.[401] The fact of Campbell-Bannerman's Scottishness also meant that it once again suited Irish nationalist purposes to engage with Trevelyan as Scottish to criticise the way in which their nation was governed:

> Exit Scotch Trevelyan, enter Scotchman Bannerman. Brither Scot succeeds brither Scot. Irishmen, unfortunately, fail to recognise what special quality resides in your stern Caledonian suitable to the governance of this island. But this, perhaps, is mere unworthy jealousy on their part. Can the explanation for this invasion of borderers be that the Irish, being reported a witty people, the Saxon, in order that their Chief Secretaries may resist our seductors, send

[399] George Otto Trevelyan, HC Deb 02 March 1883 vol. 276 cc1290-1
[400] *United Ireland* 25 October 1884, p.3
[401] *Dublin Evening Mail* 25 October 1884, p.2*; United Ireland* 25 October 1884, p.3*; Freeman's Journal* 23 October 1884

> hither natives of a land where it takes a surgical operation to make men see a joke. Perhaps the Hie'lan'man in Westmoreland Street would kindly explain?[402]

Here, hostility towards non-Irish government officers was expressed with specific reference to perceived Scottish stereotypes, and the idea that the Scots were 'sent' to Ireland as tools of 'the Saxon'. Campbell-Bannerman himself, attempted to use his nationality to justify his suitability for the role. Addressing a Reform Club dinner in honour of his appointment:

> He trusted that his nationality as a Scotchman would be no disadvantage. He could not be held up as a descendant of their old persecutors, and, being of a country which, from its numbers, compared with the other divisions of the kingdom, could not dominate, he would probably be less liable to that suspicion. Moreover, the Scotch having more of the same blood as the Irish could more readily appreciate and sympathise with them.[403]

Campbell-Bannerman's optimistic assessment of the prospect for Scottish-Irish relations failed to convince in either Scotland or Ireland. Writing to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Spencer, Campbell-Bannerman reflected upon the attitude of his own constituents to goings on in Ireland:

> I had to make some allusion to Ireland, and I thought the most innocuous line to take was that suggested by the local situation *viz.* that if the Irish were gradually allowed to have things their own way as the Scotch, there would be no inconsistency or danger to the Union. I found however that my countrymen have no interest in the subject beyond a wish to see the disloyal people put down and kept down. There is no love lost between the two countries![404]

If Scots were hostile to Irish demands for self-government, then the Irish responded with equal animosity towards their Scottish Chief-Secretary. An end of year speech in his Stirling constituency by the 'representative of English power' was met with outright hostility from the nationalist press. They highlighted what they saw as the hypocrisy of a Scottish Chief Secretary professing sympathy with Irish self-government: 'He tells

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[402] Ibid., p.4; This last line is most likely a reference to the Scots-owned *Irish Times,* see below, pp.243-5

[403] *Freeman's Journal* 18 November 1884

[404] NLS Acc. 8049 *Campbell-Bannerman Papers – Typed Copies 2 Vols.* (ii) Henry Campbell-Bannerman to Lord Spencer 14 December 1884

us beautifully that “the Irish people should have their affairs managed in their own way”; but he omits to mention whether he, as a Scotchman, proposes to take a first step in that direction chucking up his £4200 a year “and coals” for managing our affairs in *his* way.’ This attack was extended to his Scots audience, seeming to imply that the Scots were themselves unknowingly yoked to an alien power, arguing that what ‘makes Scotchmen, loyal, great, free, and in a word, Scotch, is the suppression of every newspaper that may happen to express their sentiments in a way more agreeable to them than to their foreign governor.’[405] The finale of this critique drew on the festive context to show its disdain for the Chief Secretary’s words:

> Who knows what pleasant surprises this soft-spoken Scotch Santa Claus may have in store for us at the present blessed Christmas time? Maybe a grand transformation scene in which Mr George Bolton, as the genius of Irish Liberty, surrounded by tinselled angels from the Detective Department, will bid the ogres of famine and eviction and coercion *avant*, and unite us all into a glorious limelit land of freedom, amidst slow music of the Royal Irish Constabulary? That is the only guess we can make at the meaning of Mr Campbell-Bannerman’s speech at Stirling- except that its tawdry benevolence and oily hypocrisy may be Scotch for blarney.[406]

Campbell-Bannerman’s nationality was the centrepiece of these attacks, used to underline the apparent hypocrisy of the main executive officer of Irish administration, urging greater consideration of Irish opinion whilst he himself was a foreign imposition upon the country. There are also further indications of broader views of Scots, principally the suggestion that Scots had, unlike the Irish, been quiescent in their subservience to ‘foreign’ England. The nationalist press used such assertions to demonstrate the supposed moral superiority of Irish nationalism against a Scottishness generally content within the structures of union.

The public attacks which accompanied Campbell-Bannerman’s time as Chief Secretary were replaced in later years by an apparent fondness among his Irish

[405] *United Ireland* 29 December 1884, p.5
[406] Ibid., p.5; George Bolton had been the Crown Solicitor responsible for the wrongful conviction and execution of Myles Joyce for murders committed in the village of Maamtrasna, County Galway in August 1882. As an Irish speaker Joyce was allegedly the victim of improper translation during his trial, and protested his innocence throughout the process. Faced with frequent attacks upon his character, Bolton would fight and win a liable action against *United Ireland.*

contemporaries. His Scottishness was reaffirmed, most notably in the biography written by Home Rule MP and journalist T.P. O'Connor, and fellow Home Ruler Justin McCarthy's contemporary study of *British Political Leaders*. O'Connor recounted the origins of Campbell-Bannerman 'as essentially Scotch as his own character', recounting his beginnings within the parochial school system 'like millions of other Glasgow boys' and his upbringing within the business of his father, a 'hardy and daring Scotch provincial', incorporating within the narrative the tropes of Presbyterian honesty, work ethic, and Scottish business acumen.[407] It should be important to note that contemporary British writing on Campbell-Bannerman tended to employ the same stereotypical tropes in analysing his character. In 1906 a series of features on the 'coming men', the most significant figures, in parliament edited by English journalist W.T. Stead included Campbell-Bannerman and reproduced the same lazy tropes of his Scottishness. Campbell-Bannerman was 'a very cautious man, a canny Scot', or a 'good, sensible, level-headed, canny Scot'. The assertion that he had 'succeeded so well as Irish Secretary that the Irish will be heartily glad to see another Scotchman as Chief Secretary', was wilfully ignorant of how the Irish had received Campbell-Bannerman as Chief Secretary at the time, and of how the f had been treated in the intervening years (see below).[408] Other appraisals of his time as Chief Secretary were also more generous, O'Connor talked of how the office 'severely tests men' but that Campbell-Bannerman had seemed 'absolutely impervious to attacks' from Irish nationalists in the House of Commons.[409] McCarthy summed up Campbell-Bannerman's tenure by saying that 'there is not much to be said about his Irish administration. He governed the country about as well as any English minister could have done under the circumstances.'[410] Here again we find an explicit allusion to the office of Chief Secretary itself as being 'English' or serving 'English' interests, no matter the particular nationality of its occupant. Written some two decades after his spell as Chief Secretary, and following the drama of the Home Rule crises of the 1880s and 1890s and the fall of Parnell, there was also evidence from these veteran Home Rulers, of personal respect and affection for the Liberal Home Ruler Campbell-Bannerman. O'Connor praised his conversion to Home Rule as deriving from his

[407] T.P. O'Connor, *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (London 1908), pp.11-17
[408] Anon., 'The Next Prime Minister' in W.T. Stead (ed.), *Coming Men on Coming Questions* (London 1906), pp.84, 89, 87
[409] O'Connor, *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, pp.22-5
[410] Justin McCarthy, *British Political Leaders* (London 1904), pp.311-2

'strong and instinctive love of free institutions', a far cry from his portrayed role as the 'Scotch Santa Claus' denying Irish liberty. Later descriptions of the friendly personal relations enjoyed by O'Connor with Campbell-Bannerman, shared meals and visits to his house, were also indicative of a growing awareness that British Liberals and Irish Home Rule parliamentarians of the era shared generational experiences that bound them together.[411] The decades of Home Rule had arguably been as seminal a moment for British Liberalism as it had Irish Nationalism, and whilst a general Irish/British divide endured, there was a sense that they remained closer to one another than either did to emergent Unionism or more advanced Irish nationalism. O'Connor's final judgement on his subject was once again couched in terms of Scottishness:

> (H)e appeared outwardly the stolid, typical, secular, phlegmatic Scotchman, and yet if one looked further and more closely, one could see that this was not altogether the character of the man, and that the phlegm was mixed with a certain dash of that *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* which is as much a characteristic of his race as its caution and sangfroid.[412]

Whether the public hostility aimed at him during his tenure as Chief Secretary, or later kind and generous Irish accounts of the private man, Campbell-Bannerman seemed destined to be consistently defined and understood through Irish eyes, whether positively or negatively, by the tropes of his nationality.

The Liberal Scots – Aberdeen, Bryce, and Birrell

If Campbell-Bannerman's subsequent support for Home Rule had worked to cast his Chief Secretaryship in a more favourable light to Irish nationalist opinion, the issue dominated perceptions John Hamilton Gordon, Lord Aberdeen. First appointed to the office of Lord Lieutenant in February 1886 by the short-lived Home Rule Liberal government under Gladstone, he had left office by July, but was reappointed in 1905 and subsequently held the office for the best part of a decade, leaving Ireland in 1915. The relationship between Aberdeen, and his wife Ishbel, and Ireland serve to further inform several themes already discussed. It would be the issue of Home Rule which most shaped Lord Aberdeen's reception in Ireland, whether feted as the last Lord Lieutenant, or as a stale reminder of an opportunity missed. Likewise, Aberdeen and

[411] O'Connor, *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, pp.26, 72-3
[412] Ibid., pp.135-6

his wife held out the failure of Home Rule and the subsequent independence of the Southern twenty-six counties as vindication of their own position in Ireland, and as justification for an attitude of 'we told you so' which dominates their own account of their Irish life. His arrival in Dublin in February 1886 saw him greeted more warmly than previous occupants of his office:

> 'The formal entry of the Lord Lieutenant was made last Saturday. As a military spectacle it was an imposing sight. As a popular demonstration it was something more than what normally takes place in the Irish capital. All the idlers, paid and unpaid, in the city looked on. The salaried idlers cheered and sang -or yelled – "God Save the Queen".[413]

The reason for this cordial reception was given as widespread anticipation of Home Rule, which ensured that Aberdeen possessed 'the entire good will of the Irish people', though Lady Aberdeen later asserted that initially 'such was by no means the case' and that 'the prevalent attitude was, though by no means unfriendly, somewhat that of reserve'.[414] Lord Aberdeen's decision to visit, 'olive branch in hand', the Lord Mayor of Dublin at the Mansion House rather than expecting to receive the Mayor at Dublin Castle earned him nationalist plaudits.[415] The act was taken as a sign of the Viceroyalty's imminent devise, 'the Lord Lieutenancy in its old unreal and mock-royal state is about to disappear, and that whoever the Governor-General of the future may be, and whatever his duties, he must have no airs that will conflict with plain speaking Irish democracy.'[416] The victory of the combined forces of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists in the election of 1886 put an end to such hopes and Aberdeen's initial spell as Lord Lieutenant. Nationalist Ireland moved to ensure that Aberdeen's 'departure from Ireland should be made an occasion of a memorable popular demonstration.' The reasoning behind this was both personal and political. On the one hand, there seemed a genuine respect for the conduct of the Aberdeens:

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[413] *United Ireland* 27 February 1886, p.1
[414] *United Ireland* 20 March 1886, p.4; Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *We Twa: Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen Vol. I* (London 1925), p.253
[415] *United Ireland* 20 March 1886, p.4
[416] *United Ireland* 20 March 1886, p.4

> They betrayed themselves a most sympathetic understanding of Irish feeling, and their sympathy – frank, patronising, democratic and hard working – aroused a profound reciprocal sentiment in the Irish heart.[417]
>
> The warm sympathy with which they entered into the feelings of the people, their friendliness, and the courtesy with which they associated themselves with ever case of charity, hardship, difficulty, or sorrow placed before them, all tended to make the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess Aberdeen deserve and win such a place in the affections of the Irish race as no personages similarly placed have ever gained before.[418]

The personal, however, was less important than the political. Much of the sadness felt in Ireland for their departure was in recognition of their being 'incarnation of the new and better times that have been so fatally cut short.' Aberdeen would be missed not as an individual but as 'the first Lord Lieutenant of Mr Gladstone's scheme', as 'the first Home Rule Lord Lieutenant of our day.'[419] Their departure celebrations gave nationalist Ireland a chance to demonstrate their goodwill and reasonableness, to 'strike the world's ear' and 'show that they are not insensible to the nobler methods of government.'[420] The *Freeman's Journal* emphasised the orderly conduct of the crowds, arguing that the 'magnificent display must have caused a thorough awakening from every fondly cherished prejudice and every deep-seated conviction that "the Irish are not to be trusted to govern themselves."'[421] The generous marking of his departure served the moral cause of Irish nationalism more than it marked a particular fondness for Aberdeen as an individual.

When Aberdeen returned as Lord Lieutenant in 1905, he returned to a different political context. The Irish Parliamentary Party was just recovering its unity following the divisions of the Parnell split, whilst the Gaelic revival was creating alternative outlets for Irish nationalism beyond the constitutional politics of Home Rule. Enthusiasm for his appointment largely rested upon their association with the might-have-beens of

[417] *United Ireland* 24 July 1886, p.4
[418] *Freeman's Journal* 4 August 1886
[419] *United Ireland* 24 July 1886, p.4; *Freeman's Journal* 4 August 1886
[420] *United Ireland* 24 July 1886, p.4
[421] *Freeman's Journal* 4 August 1886

1886. Justin McCarthy argued that the Aberdeens would 'always be associated in my mind with a most hopeful season of our political life, a season none the less cherished in memory and none the less auspicious because its hopes were doomed to temporary disappointment.'[422] Whilst the Viceregal couple remained enthusiastic about returning to the task of bringing 'a new era of peace, freedom, and happiness in Ireland', others recognised the decreasing relevance of the Lord Lieutenancy, and by extension of the Aberdeens themselves. K.T. Hoppen has argued that 'undoubtedly the Aberdeens were a worthy pair… but no one thought them especially talented.'[423] He goes on to explain their return to office and their subsequent longevity as a gesture to constitutional nationalism:

> That Aberdeen, who wore rosy spectacles to the end, was allowed to cling on for more than nine years is a reflection both of the low importance with which the office had come to be perceived and of the influence of the leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party, who found him pliantly sympathetic to their cause.[424]

In their memoirs, the Aberdeens seem to have bought into the rhetoric concerning their first spell in Ireland, and took the cordial reception which they received in 1905 as evidence of their own moral superiority on Irish matters and of a deeper emotional connection between themselves and the Irish people.

This attitude was tied, once again, to ideas about 'knowing' Ireland and the Irish, the same foundation upon which rested myth of Drummond. The Aberdeens embraced the notion that Ireland had to be 'known' to be understood. They toured the country and sought to meet with the Irish people. Aberdeen himself justified his re-appointment in 1905 by invoking the supposed understanding of Ireland of prime minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman: 'We were glad to be sent back to Ireland by one who knew Ireland.' Of course, this was not the impression the Irish had formed when Campbell-Bannerman was made Chief Secretary: 'He knows nothing of Ireland, and the Irish people know nothing of him', though later upon his adoption of Home Rule the Irish were content to accept that Campbell-Bannerman had 'brought his Irish experience to

[422] McCarthy, *British Political Leaders*, p.153
[423] K.T. Hoppen, '"A Question None Could Answer": What was the Irish Viceroyalty For?' Gray and Purdue (eds.), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy,* p.140

[424] Ibid., p.140

bear in explaining how he "found salvation"'.[425] Recognition of Campbell-Bannerman's knowledge of Ireland depended upon how neatly it matched Irish nationalist aspirations. There were echoes of this in the tributes featured above on Lord Aberdeen's departure from Ireland in 1886, the ideas of their having an 'understanding of Irish feeling' or having 'entered into the feelings of the people', were little more than recognitions that they had acquiesced to the nationalist demands for Home Rule. The Aberdeens however were content to see Campbell-Bannerman's selection as a fitting recognition of their own suitability for the position, and to take public acclaim at face value. Their Irish tours seemed mainly to reaffirm their own sense of the inherent loyalty and simple deference of the rural Irish, describing how in 1886 they visited Kenmare in County Kerry, 'in which extreme Nationalist influences were rife' but were greeted by an attempted rendition of 'God Save the Queen.'[426] Patrick Maume suggests that the self-satisfied claims to knowledge of Ireland and its people made in their two volume memoirs *We Twa* were misplaced, Lady Aberdeen's 'romanticised image of her Scottish heritage… brought this fascination with the Gael to the West of Ireland.'[427] Maume argues that the Aberdeens' view of Ireland 'contained significant elements of condescension and wishful thinking', which promoted 'Irish cultural revival as an equivalent to Balmoral tartanry.'[428] The inclusion of the Kenmare incident in their memoirs merely served to justify the Aberdeen's own political position by demonstrating the potential harmonising effect of constitutional change, reconciling loyalty to the crown with Irish self-government, 'this was a sign of the good of Home Rule'.[429]

If the longevity of their second spell in the Viceroyalty largely reflected, as Hoppen argued, their pliant utility to nationalist leadership, this did not prevent criticism of the Aberdeens from the broader nationalist movement. Reference to the nationality of Aberdeen came out most frequently in regard to issues concerning the Irish language. In one case, the appointment of a 'foreigner', in this case an Italian, to a teaching post at the Royal University ahead of Irish candidates prompted stern criticism from the

[425] *Freeman's Journal* 22 October 1884; *United Ireland* 8 May 1886, p.4
[426] Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *We Twa Vol. I*, pp.259-260
[427] Patrick Maume, 'Lady Microbe and the Kailyard Viceroy: The Aberdeen Viceroyalty, Welfare Monarchy and the Politics of Philanthropy' in Gray and Purdue (eds.), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p.201
[428] Ibid., p.211, 207
[429] Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *We Twa Vol. I*, p.260

Gaelic League (that the post was to teach Italian does not seem to have been considered a mitigating factor). It was alleged that the successful applicant had received the job due to her friendship with 'the Birrells and Aberdeens and such Scotchmen who thought they were running the country', and Aberdeen himself was singled out as 'the broken down Scotchman'.[430]Clearly Aberdeen's support for Home Rule, was not enough to make up for his outsider status when it came to more cultural elements of Irish nationalism. It was also noteworthy that the nationality of the Aberdeens was used to suggest the existence of an explicitly Scottish clique governing Ireland, seemingly including Chief Secretary Augustine Birrell, who despite his Scottish heritage he was rarely identified as being other than English (see below). That the criticism was raised at a Gaelic League meeting in County Monaghan, in Ulster, might explain why it was rhetorically useful to identify the ruling elites as Scottish, rather than as British or English. The choice to portray a rhetorical group of Scots as the worst symbol of foreign political and cultural oppression in Ireland might reflect Monaghan's position relative to the heartlands of Presbyterian infused Ulster-Unionism, and the concomitant local awareness of Scottish involvement in seventeenth-century plantations. This should not detract from the fact that, as stated, Lord Aberdeen's nationality as Scottish was mostly irrelevant when compared to his status as a pro-Home Rule Lord Lieutenant. This was borne out by the commentary on the pair when they finally left office in February 1915. Given warm receptions by Dublin crowds, press overage mainly focussed on the fact that Home Rule had been placed on the statute book or upon the charitable activity of Lady Aberdeen, and rarely, if ever, upon their Scottishness.[431] By contrast unionist opinion was scathing of a Lord Lieutenant on friendly terms with Home Rulers and their cause:

> Lord Aberdeen will be remembered in Ireland for the weakness and partisanship of his administration, and for the extent to which he identified himself with a political faction which has always been disloyal and criminal.[432]

Clearly his politics, rather than his nationality remained the defining feature of Aberdeen's image in Ireland.

[430] *FJ* 8 August 1911, p.3
[431] See for example *FJ* 22 February 1915, p.6; *II* 16 February 1915, p.4
[432] *BN* 17 February 1915, p.4

If Irish affection, or hostility, towards the Viceregal pair on their departure was grounded in political reality, the Aberdeens themselves believed in a deeper sentimental connection. Aberdeen's address to his tenants on his return to his Aberdeenshire estates was well reported, and he indulged in a romanticism which was absent from most Irish press coverage:

> He thought they should not regard the words "Sister Island" as a figuration or poetical expression as applied to Ireland, because after all, since the times of St. Columba and St. Patrick there were many things which should bring Scotland and Ireland into a sort of sympathetic kinship.[433]

Aberdeen, like Campbell-Bannerman before him, was suggesting that there was a deeper Scottish-Irish connection which made Irish office an easier task for Scots. It must be reemphasised this was a one-sided view of his relationship with the country. Even within his own imagery the ambiguities of Scottishness as opposed to Britishness were apparent, the island of Britain as a whole being the metaphorical sibling to Ireland. The addition of the title of Temair to his official styling in 1916 was one that Aberdeen saw as 'a move which will mind our descendants of our connection with Ireland, and also indicate the close kinship between Scotland and Ireland'. Yet the use of Temair over the more usual Tara, the ancient seat of Irish kingship, was the result of public Irish hostility towards such an honour being given to a foreigner.[434] Again, the Irish reaction tended towards associating the Lord Lieutenant, regardless of his own nationality, with the foreignness of the office he held, just as he had been 'an English Viceroy' in the line of succession to other 'English conquerors' in the post on his original assumption of the role in 1886.[435] Again, the narrative of Lord Aberdeen's time in Irish office was dictated by Irish concerns and imperatives. In light of his support for Home Rule Lord Aberdeen's Scottishness was largely an irrelevance, rather he served first as a means for Ireland to demonstrate itself capable of good faith and reasonableness if it was treated justly, and latterly as a reminder of what might have been, of how Ireland had been denied her due.

Aberdeen's second spell as Lord Lieutenant saw him serving with two Liberal Chief Secretaries, James Bryce and Augustine Birrell. Bryce took on the role when the

[433] *Irish Independent* 22 February 1915, p.3
[434] Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *We Twa Vol. II*, p.275
[435] *United Ireland* 24 July 1886, p.4; 7 August 1886, p.5

Liberals assumed government in 1905 before becoming the UK's ambassador to the USA in 1907, when he was succeeded by Birrell. Both men had Scottish fathers though both were born outside of Scotland, Bryce in Belfast, and Birrell in Liverpool. Both men would go on to represent Scottish constituencies at Westminster, Bryce sat for Aberdeen South from 1885 to 1907, and Birrell represented West Fife from 1889 to 1900, though as Chief Secretary he sat for Bristol North. A further similarity lay in their status outside the world of politics as academics and intellectuals. Before entering parliament, Bryce had been Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, whilst Birrell held a post in Comparative Law at University College London. Both produced numerous essays on a variety of academic and literary subjects, some of which will be useful for the purpose of trying to establish how each man saw himself in relation to Ireland and the broader United Kingdom. As Chief Secretaries both were part of Liberal Government's ostensibly fully committed to Home Rule, and thus earned the suspicion and hostility of Irish unionism, whilst Birrell's much longer tenure would include the Home Rule Crisis, with the concurrent mobilisation of rival paramilitary groups by both Irish unionists and nationalists, and the Easter Rising of 1916.

Of the two men, Bryce was arguably the least complicated in being identified as a Scot. The fact of his Irish birth was a product of his grandfather's migration to Ulster in the late-eighteenth century from Scotland as a Presbyterian minister. Bryce's father would undertake the opposite journey to become Rector of Glasgow University in 1846, and Bryce underwent his secondary education at the Glasgow High School, which also counted Campbell-Bannerman among its former pupils. Rooted in a strongly Presbyterian background, Bryce and his family 'inhabited an intellectual, ecclesiastical, and commercial world linked, rather than divided by St George's Channel.'[436] Indeed throughout his life it was his Presbyterianism which formed the most deliberately Scottish self-image in Bryce, in 1917 he could write that he remained committed to Presbyterianism 'which we hold to in Scotland' 'as all my people have been for two centuries and a half'.[437] But the link to Ulster is one which might have prompted his interest in Ireland before becoming Chief Secretary. Writing to the Liberal Lord Lieutenant Lord Cowper in 1881 on the subject of land agitation and boycotting, Bryce recognised that the competing narratives of land campaigners and landlords

[436] John T. Seaman Jr., *A Citizen of the World: The Life of James Bryce* (London 2006), pp.15-18
[437] Bod. MS Bryce 158, James Bryce to Noel Buxton, 5 February 1917

made it ‘difficult to form a just view’, but he was confident that ‘it need hardly be said that in Ulster things are quite different’ and that ‘there are no signs of disorder, except in Cavan’ comparable to the rest of Ireland, his own Ulster connections possibly giving him a favourable, or at least distinctive, view of that part of Ireland.[438] These themes came out strongly in his biographical writings on men like Parnell and Gladstone. Gladstone’s Scottish ancestry allowed Bryce to muse on the distinctive characteristics of Scottishness, and upon the internal divide between emotive ‘Celtic heat’ and the ‘shrewd self-control of the Lowland Scot’.[439] In a lengthy discussion of Parnell’s nationality Bryce contrasted the Irish Protestants of Munster and Leinster, ‘true Anglo-Celts’, of whom Parnell was one, with ‘the men of North-Eastern Ireland, in whom there is so large an infusion of Scotch blood that they may almost be called “Scotchmen with a difference”’.[440] Bryce’s serious engagement with contemporary national/racial frameworks for understanding both history and individuals should not distract from the fact that Bryce was very much aware of the dangers of applying such logic too readily or holistically. His most recent biographer noted that Bryce was a ‘citizen of the world’ who himself ‘refused to be pigeon-holed into one national perspective or another.’[441]The example of Ulster was a key influence in Bryce’s concern for the protection of minorities within the homogenising language of national democracies:

> There is a constantly recurring fallacy which makes men unconsciously think of the majority as if it were the whole… when we talk of “the English people” we forget the non-English elements in Britain; when we talk of the “Irish people” we forget the inhabitants of Ulster; when we talk of “the people of Ulster” we forget the large section which is politically and religiously out of sympathy with the majority.[442]

Bryce’s heritage as part of the Presbyterian nexus of Scotland and North-Eastern Ireland did not go completely unnoticed. National press organs, the *Freeman’s Journal* and *Irish Times*, took it upon themselves to highlight the ‘Scotch’ or ‘covenanting’ fashion in which Bryce took his oath of office, refusing to kiss the bible, a publicly

[438] Bod. MS Bryce 213 James Bryce to Lord Cowper, 1 January 1881
[439] James Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (London 1903), pp.403-5
[440] Ibid., pp.229-30
[441] Seaman Jr., *A Citizen of the World*, p.11
[442] James Bryce, *Modern Democracies Vol. I* (London 1921), p.164

recognisable outward manifestation of his identity as a Scottish Presbyterian.[443] In Ulster, the *Ulster Herald,* a publication sympathetic to liberalism and the 'independent unionism' personified by Thomas Wallace Russell, could announce the new Chief Secretary as 'Mr James Bryce, Ulsterman', but the majority of north-eastern Ireland's unionist press focussed upon the fact that he was a committed supporter of Irish Home Rule.[444] If Irish nationalists had depicted Campbell-Bannerman as a Scottish outsider implementing British policy on an unwilling Ireland, Irish unionists saw his newly appointed Chief Secretary, Bryce, as part of a growing threat to the union posed by 'Liberal Scots'. Upon his appointment, the *Irish Times* noted his Home Rule sympathies, and the 'encouragement' his and Aberdeen's appointments would give to Irish nationalism but urged him to remember that his first duty was to combat 'the forces of disorder' and to ensure that 'the law of the land' was upheld.[445] As the 1906 election unfolded the paper returned several times to the theme of Bryce, and other Scots like Campbell-Bannerman, being a threat to the union and argued that 'Irish votes in Scotland' were the cause. The logic of this argument ran that because significant numbers of Scottish Liberals, in allegedly 'at least seventeen constituencies', were reliant on Irish votes, this section of the Liberal Party was among the most aggressively in favour of Home Rule. It also drew on Scotland's historic support for Liberalism and the historic weakness of Unionism, as even since 1886, 'it must be remembered that Scotland, to the regret of Unionists, did not give the absolute disapproval of Mr Gladstone's Bills which was given by England.'[446] It is noteworthy that in this context Scotland as a whole, and specifically its Liberal party, were seen as a chink in the union's armour rather than a reliable ally. Bryce himself was indeed committed to Home Rule, and during his tenure kept up correspondence and meetings with Irish nationalist leaders, John Redmond and John Dillon, on a variety of themes relating to 'reform of Irish government', but, as he emphasised to Dillon, he was anxious that these meetings and correspondents 'should be kept secret'.[447] Bryce also used his own election addresses to deploy Scottish comparisons in support of his belief in Home Rule:

[443] *IT* 15 December, p.5 ; *FJ* 15 December 1905, p.5
[444] *UH* 16 December 1905, p.6
[445] *IT* 11 December 1905, p.6
[446] *IT* 15 January 1906, p.8; 25 May 1907, p.7;
[447] BL MS Bryce 215 James Bryce to John Dillon 11 October 1906

> We are proud of Scottish history; we cherish the memory of Scottish heroes, whether Highlanders or Lowlanders; and we hope that Gaelic will not be suffered to become extinct in Scotland, and we who have our strong national Scottish feeling, and mean to retain it, cannot be but sympathetic with similar sentiment in Ireland.[448]

Clearly, the prevailing political forces, in which a pro-Home Rule government led by a Scot, and containing several prominent Scottish members, allowed Bryce to make this use of his Scottish heritage far more effectively than Campbell-Bannerman in 1884. Then, Irish nationalists, fighting a Liberal government on the issue of land agitation and its use of special policing powers, could scorn Campbell-Bannerman's attempts to portray himself as a sympathetic fellow Celt; by 1906 it was Irish unionism which highlighted Bryce's nationality to identify him as part of a wider Scottish Liberal clique which contained, from their point of view, some of the most enthusiastic supporters of Home Rule.

Bryce's nationality could also be used in more conventional attacks. In 1906 proposals to increase state grants for education included plans to increase funding available in Scotland by over £150,000, by contrast Ireland was to receive an increase of under £2,000. This discrepancy was seized on by Irish nationalists, and Bryce's Scottishness could be seen as working to Ireland's disadvantage: 'Our population is almost as large as that of Scotland. Our poverty is far greater, and yet Scotland receives an augmentation of its grant for educational purposes this year just one hundred times as large as that of Ireland. We wonder what Mr Bryce – a Scottish member by the way – will have to say to this.'[449] Bryce's tenure was largely dominated by proposals to reform Higher Education in Ireland, with various proposals for how the existing institutions could be reorganised. These proposals set at odds Ireland's various religious denominations, and a lack of an easy solution had seen the issue raised at several times over the preceding decades (see Arthur Balfour's experience, below). Bryce's own Presbyterianism was no shield from the criticism of his Irish co-religionists of the proposals as they stood when he left office in 1907. They feared that the measures were merely a cover for a plan to 'place, by degrees, the higher education of Irish

[448] *IT* 13 January 1906, p.7
[449] *IT* 22 March 1906, p.4

protestants under the control of the Roman Catholic Bishops.'[450] Such criticism was probably unfair as Bryce seems to have genuinely hoped for non-denominational education and was opposed to replacing or matching a Protestant educational ascendancy with an alternative Catholic one. Having left office, Bryce expressed his beliefs to fellow Liberal cabinet minister Edmund Fitzmaurice that:

> '(I)t will be deplorable if your fears are realised and as a result of a deal with the R(oman) C(atholic) bishops Univ. Education is handed over to the priesthood and the chance of letting young Protestants and young Catholics grow up together is lost for a generation. Far better to leave the whole thing alone, and let the Liberal party stand uncommitted to a so-called solution which would be an irrevocable surrender.'[451]

The eventual 1908 legislation did indeed satisfy itself with the creation of a Catholic 'National University' with colleges across Ireland. His wider correspondence with Fitzmaurice on Irish affairs, both during and following his departure from Ireland reveal a private Bryce distinct from the public image of the committed Liberal Home Ruler, as a man who could be easily be frustrated by Ireland and the Irish themselves. Bryce recalled that as Chief Secretary he had been the only figure in cabinet who wished to extend the provisions of the Arms Act in Ireland, to continue restricting access to firearms in the country, but that 'nobody seemed to follow Irish affairs or take any interest in them.' He rued both the continued agrarian disturbances of the seemingly ungrateful Irish populace, 'and this too after the unexpected gifts and long-suffering leniency shown to her recently', and the stubbornness of the Irish nationalist leadership: 'how stupidly Redmond and Dillon have played their game! They seemed to be always thinking not so much of their ultimate aims as of the Irish party and their own hold of it.'[452] This last criticism was based upon the failure of various efforts to attempt to implement forms of devolution in Ireland short of Home Rule, mainly by creating overarching national bodies overseeing the various local government functions in the country. For Bryce, the unwillingness of the Irish Party to accept more minor and practical steps in the direction of Home Rule, such as the failed Irish Council Bill, and their perceived willingness to use the Irish electorate in Britain to punish the

[450] *BN* 26 January 1907
[451] Bod Lib. MS Bryce , Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 21 January 1908
[452] Bod Lib. MS Bryce , Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 30 November 1908; Bod Lib. MS Bryce , Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 23 February 1909

Liberals for such watered-down proposals, such as at the Jarrow by-election of 1907, was not good practical politics. These frustrations, coupled with Bryce's general distaste for Irish political violence perhaps demonstrate that far from being an ideological Irish nationalist as he was portrayed by the Unionist press, he simply saw Home Rule as the only practical remedy to the problems Ireland caused to Britain and the Liberal Party.[453] Pragmatism also seemed to shape Bryce's views on Irish land purchase. Whilst he clearly recognised the necessity to appease Irish agrarian discontent through tenant purchase, he stressed the ongoing importance of the Irish landlord class: 'there is nothing more to be desired than that every encouragement should be given to landlords who have sold to their peasants to stay in Ireland, cultivate their home farms, keep their trees, shoot over the land by agreement with the tenant-purchases, and constitute a good element of educated and superior men in the country.'[454] Clearly Bryce, though a pro-Home Rule Liberal, maintained a vestigial belief in the importance of an Irish patrician class to guide and oversee the country's development. Whilst publicly Bryce might play upon his Scottish identity to justify and advocate Home Rule, privately it seems as if his belief in the policy was borne out of recognising its practical necessity for stabilising the Irish countryside and decoupling the Liberal Party from Irish politics.

By the time he left office, Bryce's efforts at limited devolution and secular university reform had 'alienated' the Irish nationalist leadership.[455] His successor Augustine Birrell 'was personally as much committed to Home Rule as any Irishman.'[456] Birrell's nine year tenure saw major legislation passed and the final implementation of an Irish Home Rule Bill, before the onset of the Great War and the Easter Rising. Patricia Jalland split Birrell's tenure on the fault line of 1912, the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill. Before this date, Jalland argues that Birrell, by maintaining close cooperation with the Irish nationalist leadership was able to enact significant reforms popular with nationalist Ireland, most notably the 1908 University Act, and 1909 Land Act. After 1912 however, growing unionist and nationalist militancy, the Dublin Lockout of 1913,

[453] Bod Lib. MS Bryce: Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 22 January 1907; Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 28 May 1907; Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 16 July 1907
[454] Bod Lib. MS Bryce , Bryce to Edmund Fitzmaurice 9 October 1906
[455] Patricia Jalland, 'A Liberal Chief Secretary and the Irish Question: Augustine Birrell, 1907-1914', *Historical Journal* 19:2 (1976), p.427
[456] Leon Ó Broin, *The Chief Secretary, Augustine Birrell in Ireland* (London 1969), p.8; Jalland, 'A Liberal Chief Secretary', p.429

coupled with his wife's illness, sapped him of energy and support, 'the soul went out of Birrell's Irish administration'.[457] Birrell finally resigned following the Easter Rising of April 1916, and became a convenient scapegoat for British policy makers and officialdom.[458]

In terms of his nationality, there was some recognition of his Scottish origins upon his arrival in the post. The *Irish Independent* noted that 'Mr Birrell, like Mr Bryce, is half-Scotch', whilst one local paper linked Birrell's alleged support for Home Rule All-Round to his identity 'as a Scot'.[459] In reality, as Chief Secretary, Birrell would be a strong voice in opposition to a pan-UK Home Rule settlement, seeing such proposals as no more than tactical attempts to thwart Irish Home Rule.[460] For his part, Birrell's public engagement with his Scottishness had come whilst he was MP for West Fife in the 1890s and early 1900s, occasionally these also touched upon Irish issues. He could object 'as a Scotchman' to the levels of funding provided to the Edinburgh Museum and the Dublin Museum, and 'as a Scotch member' he considered the links between Scotland and Ulster and how Home Rule might affect them.[461] Usually this was done to demonstrate the differences in Birrell's eyes between Scotland and Ireland in terms of religious tolerance and education. On one occasion he pointed to a school in his Fife constituency which was run by the Catholic Church but which accepted Protestant pupils to the satisfaction of the Protestant parents as an example of how mixed education could work in both England and Ireland.[462] During the debates on the Second Home Rule Bill in 1893, he expressed dismay that Ulster unionists 'too frequently invited sympathy upon the ground of their being fellow-Protestants. That appeal was a belated appeal; it came a century too late… and his constituents resented the introduction of the name of religion into the discussion of a merely secular dispute.'[463] Religious cooperation was also at the heart of his invocation of his mixed Scottish and English background in 1900:

> At different periods of my life it has been my lot to learn both the shorter catechism of the Church of Scotland and the catechism of the Church of

[457] Jalland, 'A Liberal Chief Secretary', p.451
[458] Ibid., p.425-6
[459] *Irish Independent*, 12 January 1907, p.4; *Dundalk Democrat* 19 January 1907, p.4
[460] Jalland, 'A Liberal Chief Secretary', p.437-40
[461] Augustine Birrell, HC Debate 10 July 1896 vol 42 c.1286; HC Deb 06 April 1893 vol 10 cc.1648-9
[462] Augustine Birrell, HC Debate 14 June 1900 vol 84 cc.64-65
[463] Augustine Birrell, HC Deb 06 April 1893 vol 10 cc.1648-9

> England; neither I nor my parents were Presbyterians or Anglicans, yet I learnt both these catechisms without any injury whatever to my independence of mind.[464]

These references to his Scottish background whilst representing West Fife were, perhaps, designed to deflect criticism of Birrell as an English carpet-bagger. Such objections had certainly been raised by Scottish Liberal Unionists and Conservatives towards Birrell and other prominent Liberals in Scottish seats, Asquith, Trevelyan and Erskine Childers.[465] Campbell-Bannerman had also addressed these concerns in a letter to Herbert Gladstone, but noted that Birrell 'had just enough connection to swear by' and had since earned the respect of his Fife constituents.[466] So certainly, as an MP for a Scottish constituency Birrell had been willing to talk up his Scottish heritage, and he readily used Scottish examples when he contributed to debates on Irish affairs, but this does not seem to have continued once he had left West Fife for Bristol North. The idea that his occasional use of the phrase 'three kingdoms' in constitutional discussion was evidence of a deliberate engagement with his Scottish ancestry, as suggested by one biographer, seems far-fetched.[467]

Rather, Birrell's starting point for engaging with nationality in general and his Irish duties seemed to be more firmly rooted in his innate Liberalism and intellectualism. In his early academic writings, he had dealt with the topic of nationality and declared that 'It is not blood, it is not birth, it is not breeding.' Rather, Birrell argued that nationality was the result of common institutions. He contrasted the places of Ireland and Scotland within the union, though he gives no indication of any personal attachment to Scotland, and argued that Scottish satisfaction with the union was a result of it having maintained separate institutions and thus a separate nationality. Ireland by contrast would continue to be dissatisfied with union until it too was allowed such institutional independence. Partly, Birrell's essay was driven by the desire to argue that political union and national identity were not mutually exclusive, that the union did and could survive despite the differences in national feeling: 'It may be doubted whether, if the three countries had never been politically united, their existing unlikeness would have been any greater than it is. It is a most accentuated unlikeness.'

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[464] Augustine Birrell, HC Debate 14 June 1900 vol. 65
[465] See for example Arthur Elliot HC Debate 30 July 1890, vol.347 cc.1293-4
[466] BL Add MS41215 Henry Campbell-Bannerman to Herbert Gladstone 7 December 1899
[467] Ó Broin, *The Chief Secretary*, p.61

For Birrell national difference was an acceptable result of the Hiberno-British political union rather than a danger to it.[468] This perhaps explains his commitment to Home Rule, and his willingness to work closely with the Irish nationalist leadership. Indeed, in office, Birrell spoke of his 'double loyalty' to Asquith, who replaced Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister in 1908, and to Irish nationalist aspirations as a reason for staying in office so long.[469]

Birrell was, unsurprisingly, most frequently judged in Ireland in the context of his support for Home Rule. Given his working relationship with Irish nationalism it was no surprise that they should lavish praise upon him. In 1913 John Dillon had been prepared to commend Birrell's administration as 'more successful than that of any Chief Secretary since the Union.'[470] Responding to Birrell's resignation after Easter Week 1916, John Redmond told the House of Commons that:

> We believe that he grew to love Ireland and that he has honestly done his best for her interests… and I can assure him that he takes with him into his retirement—and it will be a consolation to him in the melancholy circumstances—the respect, the good-will, and, to use the phrase of the Prime Minister, the affection of large masses of the Irish people.[471]

The idea of a British statesman sympathetic to Irish nationalist aspirations achieving a reciprocal affection for Ireland and the Irish people marked some similarities with the ideal of Drummond discussed above. Certainly, Richard Barry O'Brien had made the explicit connection between the two men as Scots in Irish office, praising Birrell for 'governing in the spirit of his fellow countryman Drummond' and showing 'his determination to identify himself with popular claims.'[472] In the aftermath of Easter 1916 however, these sentiments were easily undermined. Redmond's remarks in the Commons had been preceded by independent nationalist MP Laurence Ginnell heckling Birrell over the 'Hunnish' executions of prisoners taken during the Rising, and had been called to order by the Speaker for his repeated exclamations that 'We have got rid of Birrell at last!'[473] Clearly, the respect of the IPP leadership was not shared

[468] Augustine Birrell, 'Nationality' in Augustine Birrell, *Collected Essays Volume II* (London 1902), pp.189-94
[469] Jalland, 'A Liberal Chief Secretary', p.450
[470] *The Times*, 28 June 1913, p.10
[471] John Redmond, HC Debate 3 May 1916, vol.82 cc.35
[472] Barry O'Brien, *Dublin Castle*, p.78
[473] Laurence Ginnell, HC Debate 3 May 1916, vol.92 cc.31-2

throughout nationalist Ireland in the wake of the fighting in Dublin, which was to prove the beginning rather than the end of a more separatist Irish nationalism. Those for whom Home Rule was not enough were unlikely to regret the departure of so committed a friend of Home Rule. More widely, the judgement of Birrell on his merits as a Chief Secretary, praised by Home Rulers, opposed by Unionists, reflected an almost total lack of engagement with his national identity during the majority of his tenure. There were times when it was hinted at. For example, in the unionist press's identification of 'Liberal Scots' or criticism of Lord Aberdeen and other 'Scotchmen' in Ireland, Birrell was never explicitly identified. The national connection surfaced in some comparisons to Drummond, but served largely as a superficial reinforcement of their key similarities in terms of support for Irish distinctiveness. Arguably this reflected both Birrell's own selective and ambiguous relationship with his Scottish ancestry, and of an Ireland for which the nationality of any Liberal minister was less important than their stance on Home Rule.

The Liberal acceptance of Home Rule, at the cost of party unity, is worthy of examination here in the context of wider intellectual themes. As with the issue of land, the traditional Enlightenment ideas of universal modern political economy, self-justified as moral and material progress, had come under challenge from historicists ideas based upon treating Ireland (or wherever) according to its own stage of societal development. Having conceded the practicality of recognising Irish conceptions of land ownership as a means of pacifying agrarian unrest, the act of ceding to Irish nationalist demands for political autonomy logically followed as a means of preserving the British body politic from Irish disruption. As Hoppen has argued these were part of a wider transition from universalist to historicist ideas more broadly in British society, and in the case of Irish government 'a transition from unrealistic optimism to hard-headed acceptance that the best way to keep the Irish quiet was to pander to their own particular sense as to how social and economic relationship should be structured and arranged.'[474] De Nie's view that this amounted to an admission that the Irish 'could never be British' seems to chime with the way the likes of Birrell attempted to reconcile national difference within overarching political structures. Home Rule was a means of keeping the Catholic Irish nation within the British imperial structure whilst

[474] Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia*, pp.179-80, 185-8; For discussion on this transition as it related to Irish land see below pp.195-6

acknowledging that they could not be turned into West Britons within the core United Kingdom. However, it is important to acknowledge the strands of continuity. The idea of liberty had been a crucial element of the moral justification of modern commercial society, the freedom of the individual from the rigid status structures of feudalism in a society based on voluntary contractual relations.[475] In such societies the role and legitimacy of government lay in its impartial and consistent enforcement of universal general laws. However, by the mid-nineteenth century 'criteria of legitimacy were changing' with renewed emphasis on 'popular sovereignty'.[476] This trend was reflected within British Liberalism more generally. Under Spencer, both Trevelyan and Campbell-Bannerman had been tasked with 'pacifying' Ireland and restoring liberal 'law and order'.[477] Even Bryce had seen his prime function as being to end extraordinary legal measures in Ireland. The modern ideal of a peaceable society in which the state applied general laws in a liberal manner remained, what changed was the Liberals' commitment to enforcing such an ideal against the expressed democratic wishes of the Irish population. For Eugenio Biagini, Gladstonian, or 'popular' Liberalism, was centred on the democratic ideal, that 'self-government *was* liberty' (original emphasis). The legitimacy of legal and governmental institutions depended on popular acceptance and support, and as it became clear that the Castle government in Ireland lacked these features reform of the Union became a legitimate political goal. Indeed, the Liberal split on Home Rule might tentatively be seen as disagreement over concepts of liberty writ large. Home Rule Liberals accepted the 'positive' liberty of self-government whilst Liberal Unionists embraced older 'negative' conceptions of liberty as freedom from interference, drawing on older Radical views which saw government in all its forms as the threat of tyranny. For Scottish Liberals, Biagini argues that their support for Home Rule derived from their antipathy to extraordinary measures of coercion and drew upon the broader attachment to progress and improvement. Home Rule, perhaps even extended to Scotland, would improve the functionality of government.[478] The modern ideal of a peaceable society

[475] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.200-1; John Shaw, 'Land, people and nation: Historicist voices in the Highland land campaign, 1850-1883', in Eugenio F. Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals radicals and collective identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge 1996), p.312

[476] Eugenio F. Biagini, 'Introduction: Citizenship, liberty and community' in Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community*, p.12

[477] Hoppen, *Governing Hibernia*, pp.198-9

[478] Eugenio F. Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism 1876-1906* (Cambridge 2007), pp.51, 79, 96-9. 372-3

in which the state applied general laws in a liberal manner remained, what had changed was the Liberals' growing emphasis on popular support and democracy as legitimising agents for government, and their corresponding responsiveness to the expressed democratic wishes of the Irish population. In tandem, Gladstone imparted an overtly humanitarian view of the world to British Liberalism. Whilst, again, this offered some degree of continuity to older Enlightenment ideas of humanity based on how individuals should treat one another, Gladstone's 'philosophy was based on a version of inter-nationalism that ascribed to nation-states a leading role in human progress.' Crucially Gladstone's ideas acknowledged the separateness of nations and applied the standards of humanity on a national scale, thus the (Catholic nationalist) Irish were accepted as fundamentally different from the other UK nationalities, and Ireland as a whole became a legitimate target for humanitarian imperatives.' For Gladstonian Liberals, Ireland came to embody several key themes 'democracy, constitutional freedoms, and "the claims of humanity".'[479] The Enlightenment ideal of modernity deriving its legitimacy from the fact that it was a moral and material good in and of itself, was beginning to give way to acceptance of the alternative legitimacy of national democracy, in which the choices of the Irish Catholic nation should be listened to. Liberals largely committed to a solution, Home Rule, which they saw as liberal whilst safeguarding British and imperial security. However, even within the party a growing faction of Liberal Imperialists sought to challenge these Gladstonian assumptions. Encompassing a strong Scottish base, of both Scots Liberals such as Roseberry and R.B. Haldane, alongside representatives of Scottish seats like H.H. Asquith, the Liberal Imperialists saw danger in subordinating government to the democracy of either the people or party associations and tended to frame Irish Home Rule 'in the general context of imperial devolution, and that it must not be seen as the only, though it might be the eventual, panacea for Ireland.' Roseberry in particular was determined that Ireland should not be treated as a unique case, and that if necessary, it must be ruled through Westminster 'without the hope of Irish gratitude.' However, even within this group the underlying Gladstonian assumptions of Irish difference endured.[480] If this presents a more nuanced and idealistic interpretation of the Liberal acceptance of Home Rule compared to De Nie's pragmatic path based on Liberal and

[479] Ibid., pp.353-4,376-7
[480] H.G.C. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a post-Gladstonian elite* (Oxford 1973), pp.98-9, 126-7, 266-277

British self-interest, the end result was the same: the acknowledgement of a fundamental divide between the Irish Catholic nation, who should be acknowledged as a coherent democracy, and is implicitly Protestant British counterpart, of which Scotland was a vital part.

The Balfours

Between the Liberal commitment to Home Rule 1886 and their landslide electoral victory in 1906, an alliance of Conservative and Liberal Unionist mostly maintained control of the UK government, barring the brief Liberal ministries of Gladstone and Roseberry in the 1890s. This effectively put Home Rule out of practical reach for Irish nationalists. Holding the reins of power was the Conservative Peer Lord Salisbury, and in 1887 he dispatched to Ireland as Chief Secretary his nephew Arthur Balfour, who held the post for four and a half years until 1891. On the Conservatives return to office in 1895, Arthur's brother Gerald took up the same role for a similar period until 1900. This period of Unionist government is traditionally viewed within the context of 'constructive unionism', of attempting to solve material problems in Ireland without conceding Home Rule. By repressing agrarian agitation and simultaneously supporting schemes to "fix" the rural Irish economy, it was hoped that nationalist politics could be deprived of its support base.[481] Andrew Gailey has argued that "constructive unionism" was less of an actual policy than a rhetorical device to consolidate the post-1886 realignment of British politics around the Irish question, a position on which Conservatives and Liberal Unionists could commit to a common line.[482] Acknowledging Irish difference just as firmly as their Liberal opponents, unionists differed only in their belief that to grant Ireland self-government would cause more damage to Britain and empire than the expense of trying to ameliorate Irish material grievances. Such measures as land purchase, the creation of the Congested Districts Board to provide state assistance to certain parts of Ireland, and reforms to local government sat alongside reactive coercive legislation aimed at suppressing rejuvenated agrarian agitation, principally the nationalist organised 'Plan of Campaign' of 1886-7. L.P. Curtis Jr. has argued that it was Arthur Balfour as Chief Secretary who

[481] Catherine Shannon, *Arthur J. Balfour and Ireland 1874-1922* (Washington 1988), p.72; Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union: British Government in Ireland 1892-1920* (Dublin 1987), p.15
[482] Andrew Gailey, *Ireland and the Death of Kindness*: *The Experience of Constructive Unionism 1890-1905* (Cork 1987), pp.2, 40-2, 63,135

was the driving force behind this 'new phase' in Irish government, later continued by his brother Gerald's 'benevolent rule'. [483]

The Balfour brothers had a Scottish father, whose own father had made his fortune in India, earning him the nickname of 'the Nabob', and acquired Scottish estates centred on Whittinghame in East Lothian, alongside land in Fife and a Highland estate at Strathconan in Ross-shire.[484] Arthur's unfinished personal memoirs emphasised his rootedness in Scotland, speaking of Whittinghame as 'where I was born, where I hope to be buried, which has been my home through my life'.[485] From his musings it is possible to discern that Balfour's Scottishness drew upon an explicitly Lowland identity, he was 'of solid lowland stock', that supposedly manifested itself in his fondness for golf.[486] Before receiving the Irish Chief Secretaryship, Arthur had been Secretary for Scotland, in which capacity he had first gained cabinet rank, a move which he partly saw as a recognition not of himself but of Scotland itself.[487] In this capacity he confronted the agitation of the Highland crofters, 'which was like a rehearsal, on a miniature scale, of the far sterner struggle against agrarian crime that awaited him in Ireland.'[488] In the end, the Crofters' agitation, once effectively policed, could be settled by remedial legislation, a solution which would also be attempted in Ireland. However, the coupling of land issues with organised Irish nationalism made the problem more intractable in that country than in the case of the 'quiescent and loyal' Highland crofters.[489]

From the outset Irish attitudes towards both brothers were shaped by the fact that their mother was sister to the Prime Minister Lord Salisbury. Upon his appointment in 1887, the fact that Arthur Balfour was 'a nephew of Lord Salisbury' was sufficient to tarnish Balfour with the whiff of aristocracy and privilege, which nationalists felt made him too weak to govern Ireland:

> 'Sternness' and 'strength' are somewhat ludicrous terms placed in collocation with the name of Mr Arthur Balfour. He is a rickety and lackadaisical young

[483] L.P. Curtis Jr., *Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland 1880-1892 A Study in Constructive Unionism* (Princeton, NJ 1963), pp.331-2, 413-18
[484] Sydney H. Zebel, *Balfour: A Political Biography* (Cambridge 1973), pp.1-2
[485] Arthur James Balfour, *Chapters of Autobiography* (London 1930), Blanche E.C. Dugdale (ed.), p.3
[486] Balfour, *Chapters*, pp.45, 227
[487] Blanche E.C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour, First Earl of Balfour Vol. I* (London 1936), p.117
[488] Ibid., p.109
[489] Ewen A. Cameron, 'Communication or Separation?', pp.662-665

> man… a delicate lily of the aristocracy. But it is just because he is languishing feebleness personified that young Mr Balfour may mistake febrile petulance for strength, and it is possible that a child of Mr Balfour's character placed in charge of loaded weapons may think he is strong when he is merely out of temper, and may think that the whole art of governing the Irish people is to outrage their feelings and perforate their bodies.[490]

Such critiques took place within a wider context of popular suspicion of effete aristocracy among the UK's expanding democracy. The 'unmanly peculiarity' of Arthur's intellectual bent was seen by many as making him too weak for the work of governing Ireland.[491] Such perceptions were swiftly reversed as coercion policies were implemented, culminating in the 1887 Crimes Act, and within a month the 'delicate lily of the aristocracy' had acquired the new moniker of 'Bloody Balfour'.[492] The policy of coercion, combined with his connection to Lord Salisbury set the tone for the portrayal of Balfour during his tenure, the aspect of his Scottish nationality wholly unnecessary to the political purposes of Irish nationalism. So whilst those few depictions in caricature of Campbell-Bannerman had displayed him kilted as a Scot, the innumerable portrayals of Balfour inevitably had him as the tall, long legged, moustached, monocle and top hat wearing epitome of aristocratic villainy, often trying to deviously trick or harm noble 'Pat'.[493] Alternatives portrayed Balfour as an arrogant king, in one example as 'The Modern Canute' he was displayed struggling to hold back the tide of free speech and Home Rule.[494] These portrayals of aristocratic low cunning remained largely unaltered through Balfour's time in office.[495] In some instances however, his Scottish identity was used by Irish cartoonists to reverse the traditional imagery used in Britain for the Irish as 'Celtic terrorists'. In such efforts Balfour could be given the same physical features traditionally associated with the undeveloped Celt.[496] His Scottishness served, like Drummond, as merely a state of un-Irishness which made him unfit for the role, or his status as a Scottish landowner was used as

[490] *United Ireland* 12 March 1887, p.4
[491] Nancy W. Ellenberger, *Balfour's World: Aristocracy and Political Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Woodbridge 2015), pp.300-1
[492] *United Ireland* 9 April 1887, p.4
[493] 'The Campbells are coming' *United Ireland* 1 November 1884; See for example 'Government by Murder' *United Ireland* 17 September 1887;
[494] 'The Modern Canute' *United Ireland* 10 September 1887
[495] Though his niece and biographer argued that he deliberately cultivated this image in the Irish case, see Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour*, p.132
[496] Ellenberger, *Balfour's World*, p.173

a direct challenge to his handling of Irish land issues. Timothy Healy, Home Rule MP, summed up all of these objections in a speech to the House of Commons:

> (I)n the course of seven years we have had something like six or seven different Chief Secretaries for Ireland, and the present incumbent of the Office (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is the first who has conducted Irish affairs in the way he has done… He has had no previous experience of Ireland, so far as I know. He is a Scottish landlord, and before he was told off to administer Irish affairs he was the Secretary for Scotland. If an Irishman were appointed Secretary for Scotland, what a farce it would be; would not the thing be ridiculous, and would not Scotch Members on both sides of the House cry out at the atrocity of appointing a Member, who knew nothing whatever about Scotland, to deal with Scottish affairs? Yet Scotland is a country where landlord and tenant meet together, and where the laws are fairly administered… Besides other qualifications, the right hon. Gentleman has that of being the nephew of his uncle—that is thought sufficient ground for promoting him to the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.[497]

Again, the Irish nationalist members placed prime importance on the idea of having experience of Ireland or 'knowing' the country. In addition, Balfour's Scottishness allowed Healy to highlight the perceived discrepancy between how the union operated, Scotland's distinctiveness was respected whereas Ireland's was not. T.P. O'Connor seemed to suggest that it was not merely Balfour's lack of knowledge of Ireland which provoked nationalists, but his stubborn refusal to see the errors of his ways:

> He did not blame the Chief Secretary for his inaccuracies. The right hon. Gentleman was a Scotchman, perhaps he was never in Ireland till he went over to take the oaths of Office, and when talking of Irish affairs he was as much astray as he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would probably be in the intricacies of the theology of the right hon. Gentleman's native land. But the difference between them was this—the Chief Secretary had the arrogance of his ignorance, whereas he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had the modesty of his.[498]

[497] Timothy Healy, HC Deb 30 August 1887 vol. 320 c519
[498] T.P. O'Connor, HC Deb 28 April 1887 vol. 314 c270

That this was personally directed at Arthur might be surmised when assessing the treatment of his brother Gerald when he took up the role of Chief Secretary. Attacks on Gerald seemed less personal, and were directed rather at the system he sat atop than at his own conduct, as Healy observed:

> I say now, as I have said of him in private, that he has been a useful, efficient, and hardworking Irish Secretary. I believe when he leaves office he will be able to take credit to himself for having done good work while he was in it. I make this accusation against the system. The conduct of the permanent officials in every department of Irish administration has been a constant source of irritation to the people…If you have only a gardener to appoint in Phoenix Park, you import a Presbyterian Scotchman from the Highlands. I am quite sure the right hon. Gentleman himself has no tone of bigotry about him. If his work was done by a Catholic or a Protestant, I am sure he would not care... It is the fault of the permanent officials who are his advisers, and it is this subtle poison which affects every office he has to do with. It is from them that he draws his opinions about Ireland. It is from them he gets his information. They pile up the statistics, and they make up the documents which necessarily form his brief when he rises to speak in this House, so that, taking this Department as a whole, it is loaded to the gunwale with our enemies.[499]

The idea that Gerald had earned a uniquely respected position in the eyes of Irish nationalists was emphasised several years later. In 1905, following the resignation of Unionist Chief Secretary George Wyndham over his involvement in the so-called 'Devolution Scheme' of Lord Dunraven, a proposal for limited self-government which greatly offended the most stubborn Unionists within the party, there were some who advocated re-appointing Gerald to the role. Horace Plunkett, sometime Unionist MP and latterly involved in the Department for Agricultural and Technical Instruction, a position which would ultimately lead him toward sympathy with Irish nationalism, wrote to Arthur Balfour, by now Unionist Prime Minister, emphasising the qualities possessed by Gerald which made him 'the only man who could restore the situation and restore confidence.' Plunkett argued that Gerald fulfilled several requirements, the civil service 'have a genuine admiration for him', he 'thoroughly knows Irish land laws',

[499] Timothy Healy, HC Deb 24 May 1900 vol. 83 cc1202-3

and ‘no man you can appoint will be less likely to get into real difficulty with the Irish Nationalists in the House. They respect him.’[500] Gerald was clearly widely perceived as having done a good job in his role as Chief Secretary by both sides of the political divide. Though Richard Barry O’Brien’s list of Irish officeholders identified him as ‘out of sympathy’ with the Irish people, Gerald of all such Chief Secretaries was felt deserving of a footnote stating that it was ‘only fair’ to acknowledge his ‘popular leanings’ in spite of his unionism.[501] Nationalists like Healy could reconcile a lack of hostility towards an individual Chief Secretary by attacking the wider system, from Healy’s perspective there was also a recognition that perhaps his personal political inclinations were more suited to working with British Conservatives than the IPP’s traditional Liberal allies.[502] The observation that ‘unlike some past Irish Secretaries, some of his knowledge still sticks to him’, could also be interpreted as an implicit contrast between Gerald and his brother, and was accompanied by the admission from Healy that the ambiguous nationality of the brothers did little to change the views of Irish nationalists: ‘The Irish Secretary is an Englishman or a Scotchman, which for our purpose is the same thing. The whole of the system is a British system’.[503]

From the point of view of Arthur Balfour however, his Scottishness was a key aspect of his engagement with his role within the ‘British system’ in Ireland and to his stance on Irish Home Rule. His experience with the Crofters of Highland Scotland was a consistent reference point in his handling of distress in the West of Ireland, as demonstrated in his lengthy correspondents with philanthropist James Hack Tuke. Balfour drew on his Scottish experience and looked to the existing mechanisms to facilitate Crofter emigration from the Highlands as an example which might be profitably employed in Ireland, though he remained doubtful of the efficacy of emigration as a solution to the problem of Western distress, ‘I do not believe that any relief adequate to the impending difficulties is likely to be given by emigration - all we can hope to do by this means is to render the next attack of the disease less virulent.’[504] Balfour also demonstrated some sensitivity to Irish opinion regarding the appointment of officials to the Congested Districts Board created in 1891, as he was

[500] BL Add MS49772 Horace Plunkett to Arthur Balfour 7 March 1905
[501] O’Brien, *Dublin Castle*, p.12
[502] Frank Callanan, *T.M. Healy* (Cork 1996), p.428
[503] Timothy Healy, HC Deb 09 February 1900 vol. 78 cc1100-1101
[504] BL Add MS49817 Arthur Balfour to J.H. Tuke 25 August 1890

reluctant to appoint Scot Sir Colin Moncrieff, who had recently overseen irrigation works in Egypt, to an Irish post: 'As you may well believe, I do not think the worse of him for being a Scotchman, but does that not make it rather difficult to put him on the Irish Congested Districts Board?'[505] Moncrieff would eventually be found a place as Undersecretary for Scotland. His handling of Western congestion also demonstrated that Balfour was no unconditional supporter of the landed classes in Ireland, telling Tuke that 'I have myself always been of the opinion that the only profitable use of the landlords in the congested districts is to check further subdivision of holdings. They seem powerless to do this now and I have little doubt that it would be an advantage to buy them out.'[506] Balfour's frustration with the Irish landlord class extended to his own party's MPs. In 1888, during the Plan of Campaign, a campaign of rent-strikes devised by Irish nationalist MPs targeted at landlords deemed to be treating tenants unfairly. Unionist MP and Sligo landlord Edward King-Harman's pursued a policy of legal actions and evictions against some his tenants. Balfour wrote to the Lord Lieutenant Lord Londonderry condemning King-Harman as 'stupid, obstinate, and selfish' and emphasising the 'impolicy of evicting on a large-scale tenants who cannot pay' and of 'confining operations as much as possible to tenants who *can* pay (original emphasis).'[507] Whatever his perceived image as a product of the English aristocracy, Balfour was no unconditional supporter of the landed interest in Ireland and it is clear that his Scottish experience, and Scottish identity did influence his conduct as Chief Secretary. His Scottishness was also a prominent part of Balfour's engagement with the issue of Irish Home Rule more generally. As Chief Secretary, Scottish Unionists hosted an event in Balfour's honour in 1889 in Edinburgh. Addressing the assembled crowd Balfour told them that 'we are here a great assembly of Scotsmen. Every man, or almost every man, who now listens to me is a Scotsman and are proud of being a Scotsman.' He went on to both legitimise Scottish nationality within the United Kingdom and to delegitimise Irish claims for Home Rule as 'We are a nation ladies and gentlemen in a sense in which Ireland never has been and is not a nation.'[508] Balfour would go onto to develop this argument later in his writings on *Nationality and*

[505] BL Add MS49829 Arthur Balfour to J.H. Tuke 23 March 1891
[506] BL Add MS49827 Arthur Balfour to J.H. Tuke 8 May 1889
[507] BL Add MS49802 Arthur Balfour to Lord Londonderry 23 May 1888
[508] Alfred Woodrow Sansome (ed.) *Commemorative Record of the Scottish National Demonstration in Honour of the Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour MP, Chief Secretary of Ireland, Held in Edinburgh on the 4th and 5th December 1889* (Edinburgh 1890), pp.29, 32

Home Rule. Again he invoked his Scottish identity, 'where I was born, where I live, and where my father lived before me', and his ability to reconcile that with the Union, and again he demeaned Irish nationhood in comparison to Scotland's history as an independent state, Ireland had 'never been deprived of her national organisation, for she never possessed one'.[509] Of course, it is possible to view such attempts at undermining Irish nationhood as part of a wider strategy to justify and defend the coercive policies adopted in Ireland to a British public traditionally hostile to such affronts to 'liberty and due process.'[510] Framing the Irish in contrast to the Scots, as outside the peaceful operation of union, might have served to ease British qualms about the use of extraordinary legal measures. Gerald too, engaged with his Scottish identity, addressing the Dublin Saint Andrews Society, he was at pains to prove his Scottish credentials stressing that 'it was not in that capacity (as Chief Secretary)' that he addressed the society but 'as a Scotchman', assuring the assembled personages that even though 'his speech did not betray him' he was truly Scottish, and offering as proof his ability to dance a Scotch reel.[511] Again, the awareness and articulation of the national identity of the Scots in Irish office varied, for the Irish observer the Scottishness of the Balfour brothers was less useful or relevant than their connections to Salisbury, whilst for the Balfours themselves it formed a key part of their own identities, and at least in Arthur's case, a publicly invoked justification for his political position.

The final pertinent point to make might link back to the idea of 'knowing' the Irish and Ireland. This idea had been used in the case of Drummond, and Aberdeen as an indication of their recognition and implicit support for Irish nationhood, whilst Arthur Balfour was attacked by nationalists for lacking such knowledge of Ireland. Balfour's time as Chief Secretary did however feature unionist attempts to contest the idea of Ireland and what knowing Ireland entailed. Accounts of Balfour's tour of the West of Ireland made this clear. Recounting the contact between the Chief Secretary and the Irish people who felt that other 'governors of the country' had not 'learned their feelings', the resulting interactions are used to imply that the Irish people were themselves being misrepresented by the Irish nationalist leadership. Balfour was

[509] Arthur Balfour, *Nationality and Home Rule* (London 1913), pp.10-13
[510] Ellenberger, *Balfour's World*, pp.167-9
[511] *IT* 2 December 1895, p.6

'cheered to the echo' by the island inhabitants of Achill off the Mayo coast, and in Donegal was hailed as 'Balfour the Brave' in spite of the attempts of the local nationalist MP to provoke a hostile reception.[512] Thomas Wallace Russell, who as an MP made the political journey from his own brand of independent unionism in the 1880s towards the Liberal policy of Home Rule by the 1910s, similarly acknowledged that Balfour was 'of course, a total stranger to the country', but that he had been 'deeply moved' during his Western tour by contact with the real Irish people, who in turn had recognised the practical service Balfour had done: 'there is no portion of these wild but beautiful regions who do not light up at the mention of Mr Balfour's name.' The clear message was that the normal rural population of Ireland cared more for the practical policy discussions of Balfour than the nationalist rhetoric of their IPP representatives, and that Balfour knew and understood this. Michael J. F. McCarthy, a self-described 'anti-nationalist' barrister offered a similar idea in his own assessment of Arthur Balfour's time as Chief Secretary. Balfour he argued 'understands the Irish character better than any other public man' and key to that understanding was recognising the 'false pride in the inglorious past of his country' which was 'the characteristic of every ignorant or semi-educated Irishman'.[513] These are useful correctives to the view that knowledge and understanding of the Irish character were defined purely by nationalist Ireland, but that such reasoning could be employed to justify the actions of unionist Chief Secretaries like Balfour. However, they do demonstrate that a continuing importance was placed upon being seen to experience, to know, a 'real' Ireland, by politicians of both major British parties, even if this was defined differently according to their own political standpoints. Again, this was a broader reflection of the modern discursive privileging of objective knowledge. The claim to 'true' knowledge of Ireland was then a means of legitimising one's actions in government. The fact that politicians like Aberdeen and the Balfours could both claim to be speaking for the 'true' sentiments of the Irish people whilst pursuing divergent political policies is perhaps reflective of how shallow the engagement of both groups was with the actual cares of the Irish people as opposed to the ultimate divide between nationalism or unionism. Again, for De Nie, the Unionist attempt to manage Irish difference, through the aegis of 'constructive unionism' was symbolic of a shared

[512] Special Correspondent of the Daily Express, *Mr Balfour's Tour in Ireland* (Dublin 1890), pp.5-6, 27, 60, 76-83
[513] Michael J. F. McCarthy, *Mr Balfour's Rule in Ireland* (Dublin 1891), p.45

admission of defeat (with British Liberalism) in the process of making Ireland a recognisably British part of the union state.[514] The refusal to concede Home Rule for Arthur Balfour, and perhaps for unionism more generally, seemed to derive from an unwillingness to be seen as rewarding the violence and unrest in rural Ireland and also from his own sense of Scotland's superiority as a modern nation. As a modern nation Scotland understood that the British imperial project was one that enhanced its global role, an idea that Ireland, which had never been a 'proper' nation in Balfour's eyes was incapable of understanding, or legitimately articulating. If the Unionist land acts and legislation must be judged as attempts to decouple Irish nationalism from the material issues of land ownership they failed. However, at great expense to the exchequer they did succeed in creating throughout large parts of Ireland a commercial farming class. In this way the Balfours were continuing the role envisioned by Grant in the 1820s of the UK government as a modernising agent in Ireland. The final buying out of ascendancy feudalism had given Ireland modern commercial agriculture. Indeed, British Unionist persistence in these endeavours demonstrated in some respects a continued commitment to the ideal of progress as a self-justifying moral good. Pragmatic and practical solutions to Ireland's material problems would be enacted whether or not they enjoyed the support of Irish democracy. The Unionists were then less sensitive to Irish demands for popular sovereignty than their Liberal contemporaries. However, their opposition to Home Rule could and did draw upon the status of Ireland's (Protestant) unionist population.

Scots and Irish Unionism

The Gladstonian turn to Home Rule prompted the beginnings of explicitly unionist political organisation in Ireland, with the formation in 1885 of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, and in 1891 the Irish Unionist Alliance to coordinate the electoral activities of political unionism throughout Ireland. Unionist electoral strength was concentrated in Ulster, and Ulster unionists increasingly came to represent the core of Irish unionist membership in the House of Commons. Between 1885 and 1910 Irish unionists maintained between eighteen and twenty-three seats in parliament, of which never more than four were from outwith Ulster, and but for the unionist presence in the

[514] De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, pp.267-77

Dublin university seats this discrepancy would have been even higher.[515] Perhaps not surprisingly then, given Ulster's close economic and migratory links to Scotland, this Ulster unionist representation included several Scots whose experiences might be analysed productively here. They were Thomas Wallace Russell (MP for South Tyrone 1886 to January 1910; MP for North Tyrone 1911 to 1918), Thomas Lorimer Corbett (MP for North Down 1900 to 1910), Hugh Thom Barrie (MP for North Londonderry 1906 to 1922), and George Smith Clark (MP for North Belfast 1907 to 1910). These cases can help to underline the contingency of the articulation of national identity by individuals, and the importance of the political context to how these individuals were identified more widely.

Of these, T.W. Russell presents the most complex political journey. Born in Fife, he went to Ireland in his twenties and founded a successful hotel business. He stood for election in 1885 as a Liberal, before winning South Tyrone in 1886 as a Liberal Unionist. Representing a rural constituency, Russell was broadly supportive of land reform and the interests of protestant tenant-farmers, and this increasingly brought him into conflict with the remnants of the landed leadership of Irish unionism. From 1900, Russell became the figurehead of a movement of independent unionists, sometimes dubbed 'Russellism', who sought to challenge an establishment unionism which they saw as too sectarian and too closely associated with landlordism. He held his seat as an independent in 1906, and was appointed as Vice-President of the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction (DATI). Having lost South Tyrone in 1910, he re-joined the Liberal Party for whom he won a by-election in North Tyrone in 1911, a seat he held until his retirement in 1918. This political back and forth was accompanied by an acceptance that Home Rule was in the interests of rural tenant-farmers. Like Russell, Barrie and Clark represented the new money-ed business interests of Ulster. H.T. Barrie, born in Glasgow, had built a successful business as a produce merchant, and was involved in local government of Coleraine and wider County Londonderry, he would succeed Russell as Vice-President of the DATI.[516] George Clark was born in Paisley, before travelling to Belfast an apprentice for Harland and Wolf. He would later set up his own shipbuilding company with Frank

[515] Alvin Jackson, *The Ulster Party: Irish Unionists in the House of Commons 1884-1911* (Oxford 2002, reprint), p.55
[516] *IT,* 19 April 1922, p.6

Workman, Workman, Clark and Co.[517] All three were representatives of a new commercial interest breaking into the ranks of Irish unionism, men who sought political office to lend social prestige to their newly acquired wealth.[518] Outside of the newly wealthy men of commerce lies T.L. Corbett, born in Glasgow and educated in England, he was active in the politics of London Conservatism, winning election to the London County Council. Following unsuccessful attempts at election to the House of Commons as an Irish Unionist in the 1890s, Corbett won North Down in 1900 and held it until his death in 1910. There are however valid points of crossover with Russell. Both were actively engaged in the temperance movement, and both represented rural constituencies with tenant-farmer interests. Like Russell, Corbett had independent tendencies, and in 1900 had fronted his own challenge to established unionism with the Presbyterian Unionist Voters Association, voicing dissatisfaction with the 'clique' of unionist leadership. Unlike Russell, however, Corbett remained within the party and increasingly settled into its loose disciplinary structures.[519] On one later occasion in the House of Commons, Corbett lamented Russell's abandonment of the party, telling him that 'He hoped the hon. Gentleman would return to the old faith, though they did not particularly want him.'[520] For all four men, there are two principal themes which can be usefully developed in terms of their national identity. At a basic level we can examine how all four men articulated their Scottishness in the course of their political duties, and how their allies or opponents engaged with this identity in response. Beyond this however, I think there are more subtle points about the discourse of Scottishness, or rather of certain types of Scottishness, which can be developed from reflections on the lives of Barrie, Clark, and, most especially, Russell. Both Barrie and Russell found themselves understood externally, in both Ireland and Britain, in terms of a narrative of a peculiarly Scottish rags-to-riches tale. Russell, however, by virtue of his long and winding political career, also presents a valid and more recent comparison with the experience of his namesake Thomas Drummond, of how a form of Irishness could be achieved through sympathy with the land and its people.

[517] David Johnson, 'George Smith Clark', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/46818
[518] Jackson, *The Ulster Party*, pp.59-61
[519] Ibid., pp.225-6, 103
[520] T.L. Corbett, HC Deb 03 February 1908 vol 183 c.609

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given what has been seen of those Scots holding government roles in Ireland, the Scottishness of these men was frequently used by Irish nationalists to undermine their legitimacy on Irish issues. Such discussions usually highlighted the ambiguity of representation and nationality. Clashing with John Dillon during debates on the 1909 Irish Land Bill, H.T. Barrie was criticised for his 'ignorance of Irish affairs', with the implication being that he, not being native to the country, was not qualified to contribute to the debate.[521] Barrie was similarly excluded from Scottish debates, his proposed amendments to the Scottish Valuation Bill of 1908, which concerned the treatment of his native Glasgow, were dismissed by Thomas Shaw, the Liberal Lord Advocate, on the grounds that 'the language in which the Amendment was introduced was naturally the language of Ireland… they were not accustomed to that language in Scotland. Not many Members for Scotland would wish to limit the application of this valuation principle to one town only.'[522] In this case, despite being a Glasgow-born Scot, the fact of his representing an Irish constituency was being used to suggest that he was unfit to comment on legislative affairs for Scotland. It should be pointed out that as a Unionist, the nationalist Dillon and Liberal Shaw had political motivations for seeking to delegitimise Barrie's voice in parliament. Their ideas that he could not, on the one hand, contribute as a Scot to affairs regarding his Irish constituents, or on the other, that he could not participate, as an Irish member, in debates concerning his native Scotland, were inherently contradictory. George Clark and T.L. Corbett both attempted to square this circle in their own ways. Corbett, met in one instance with objections that 'Scotchmen' had no place to speak on Irish issues in the House of Commons, replied with a strong defence of the principle of parliamentary representation, arguing that 'his own constituents were perfectly satisfied with his nationality and his conduct in the House'; if the electors of North Down wanted a Scot to speak on their behalf, then that Scot had every right to do so.[523] Clark, by contrast, sought to emphasise his British identity, and to emphasise the difference between Britishness and Irishness. Clark's maiden speech to the House of Commons developed this theme explicitly:

[521] Hugh T. Barrie and John Dillon, HC Deb 23 July 1909 vol 8 cc791-3
[522] Thomas Shaw, HC Deb 26 February 1908 vol 184 cc1823-4
[523] T.L. Corbett, HC Deb 15 March 1905 vol 143 c.130

> Though he had the honour to represent an Irish constituency, he was not an Irishman, but a Scotsman born. He often regretted that he was not an Irishman, because he always envied the Irish people the ease and the fluency with which they were able to give expression to their ideas. He only wished that they had the Chief Secretary (Augustine Birrell) more often in Ireland; he wished that the right hon. Gentleman knew more about Ireland, or that he had lived there for some little time, because he was satisfied that he, like every other Britisher of his acquaintance, would become a Unionist. The two peoples they knew had no community of ideals or community of purpose. The Unionists were British to the core, and they were determined that at all costs Ireland should remain an integral part of the United Kingdom; whereas he was sorry to say the Irish Nationalists wished to have Ireland for the Irish alone, and they made no secret, in fact they were accustomed to boast in season and out of season, of their antipathy to Britain and everything British.[524]

Clark was clearly drawing a boundary between 'Britishers', which implicitly included the Scots, English, and unionists of Ireland, not yet explicitly just in the north, and an Irishness defined by political nationalism directed explicitly against Britain and Britishness. Interestingly Birrell's response to this speech congratulating 'his countryman on the opposite side of the house', is one of the few occasions where Birrell might be seen as acknowledging his Scottish roots, though there is the possibility Birrell considered Clark his countryman in the more ambiguous British sense that Clark had been discussing. In later speeches Clark made the same large argument concerning the inherent difference between the unionist and nationalist populations of Ireland, but with a more explicit emphasis on the distinctives of an Ulster identity:

> The great majority of the Unionists lived in Ulster, and it was the custom of the Nationalists to brand the opposition of Ulster to Home Rule as the outcome of unreasoning bigotry and intolerance, and to charge them with shutting the door in the face of national aspirations and ideals, and with having no alternative policy to suggest to Home Rule. Although he was not Irish-born he had lived in Ulster for nearly thirty years, and he had no hesitation in assuring the House

[524] George Clark, HC Deb 25 July 1907 vol 179 c.218

> that … the Belfast man had as much patriotism and pride as the man of Dublin or Galway… But he believed that it was in union with Britain that the best interests of his country could be preserved.

Here, Clark was arguing for a shared pride in Ireland between unionists in the North and nationalists in the rest of Ireland, but a divergent view on the proper way to advance Ireland's interests. This was now accompanied by the articulation of more fundamental differences in national character between those in the North of Ireland and those in the rest of the island: 'In the North where the people were loyal, thrifty, and industrious, they were prosperous. It was only in the South and West, where the people were as a rule lazy, thriftless, and improvident, that there was any want of prosperity.' It was clear that Clark attributed this in some degree to the Scottish influences on Ulster society, invoking the royal motto of Scotland to explain the stubbornness of Ulster unionism: '*Nemo me impune lacessit* was as true of the men who lived North of the Boyne as of those who lived North of the Tweed.' Clark's final appeal explicitly articulated a British imperial identity which allowed for distinct subordinate national identities: 'The loyalists of Ireland were proud of being British subjects, subjects of an Empire the product of the union of various nationalities, in the building up of which Irishmen had taken no small part.'[525] This presents quite a complex, and perhaps inconsistent, view of the linkages between national identity and the politics of union. Firstly, it was clear that Clark saw his role as an MP for an Irish constituency as being perfectly compatible with his Scottish nationality. He justified this in practical terms by reference to his long residency in Belfast, but also in ideological terms by distinguishing between a 'British' unionist population of Ulster, a Britishness demonstrated by their willingness to subordinate Irish patriotism or feeling to the wider imperial whole, and an Irish nationalist population throughout the rest of the island. Clark saw no problems representing his fellow Britons of Belfast, despite the fact that he, as a Scot, had a different national identity to that of Ulster or Ireland. Beyond this, whilst the British and Irish inhabitants of Ireland might share affection for the place, their views on its best interests sharply diverged as a result of their relationship to this British connection, the prosperous 'British Ireland' of the unionists, and a disturbed agrarian 'Irish Ireland' of (catholic) nationalists. Clark's focus was on the differing national characteristics present in the loyal 'British-Irish' and 'Irish-Irish'

[525] George Clark, HC Deb 30 March 1908 vol 187 cc. 178-87

groups. The willingness of Clark to conceive of Irish (or Ulster) identities included within a greater imperial Britishness, as opposed to a popular nationalism for which Irishness remained totally separate from Britishness, is perhaps indicative of his Scottish roots, as for most Scots their distinctive national identity had become complementary rather than contradictory to their status as Britons. Alvin Jackson has pointed to the growing divide between unionism in Ulster and both southern Irish unionists and Britain. British flirtation with Home Rule, demonstrating that sections of British society did not view Irish unionists as fellow Britons, undermined appeals to an uncomplicated Britishness, whilst the continued weakness of unionism in the rest of Ireland necessitated new political rhetoric to justify separate treatment for Ulster. This began a period from the early 1900s of the deliberate articulation of a separate and distinct Ulster identity.[526] Clark's articulation of various, yet apparently complementary, identities must be located within the context of this development. As a Scot, his engagement with an overarching British identity was perhaps less difficult than for Ulster unionists, and whilst he spoke of the shared pride of unionists and nationalists in Ireland the place, he did explicitly identify two separate peoples with distinctive characteristics. Importantly though, for Clark the defining characteristic of these groups was the mark of political nationalism. 'British' unionists supported Ireland's continued place with the constitutional construction of the UK, but this did not preclude their holding of simultaneous, though subordinate, national identities as Irishmen or as Ulstermen. 'Irish' nationalists were excluded from the realms of 'Britishness' by their wish to leave the UK state. This later point might perhaps have been contested by some Home Rulers, who saw the process as a means of recalibrating Ireland place within the wider British imperial world. From Clark's words it might be inferred that he saw a distinction between the status of 'British subjects', which might include the millions of people under imperial rule across the globe, and a British national identity bound up with membership and participation within the UK state.

This is perhaps demonstrative of the wider points about the nature of national identity and its relationship to nationalism discussed in the works of Breuilly, Gellner, and Hutchinson. For Breuilly, nationalism is the product, though not inevitably, of accepting both the existence of a distinct and definable nation, and the desirability that state and

[526] Jackson, *The Ulster Party*, pp.4-15

national boundaries be one and the same.[527] Clark's rhetoric using political allegiance to forms of state as the defining feature of two contrasting national identities appears to fit within Gellner's conceptualisation of 'voluntaristic' as opposed to 'cultural' nationalism. In the former the nation is willed into existence by the 'recognition' of its members of commonality, regardless of other differences between them. In the latter distinct cultural traits are used to strictly define who is or is not part of the nation.[528] Viewed in this way, Clark's comments might be seen as the articulation of the existence within the UK of several 'cultural' nations, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, each of which possessed a 'cultural' identity (though these were by no means fixed or universal). These cultural nations did not prevent the inhabitants of the UK from subscribing to the 'voluntaristic' British nation. By recognising the common bonds of union, Scots, English, Welsh, and Irish were in effect expressing a form of common British identity, becoming British. By contrast, Irish nationalists, engaged in an active political struggle for statehood, were sustaining a 'voluntaristic' Irish nation, and in doing so were tightening the definitions of the cultural Irish nation to reflect the social make-up of the nationalist movement. This is perhaps a little crude, and it should be acknowledged that an uncontested cultural Irishness which encapsulated all of the islands inhabitants probably never existed, though stereotypes such as Irish wit were commonly deployed regardless of the religious or political divides within the island. Forms of Irish identity were claimed and expressed by people of all religions and political stances in Ireland throughout most of the nineteenth century. The transition from an explicitly Irish unionist political movement towards a distinctly Ulster unionist position, reflected the recognition on behalf of unionists in north-eastern Ireland of their increasing exclusion from a cultural Irish identity based on rural Catholicism.[529] Continued participation within the voluntarastic British nation required a more coherent and defensible form of cultural nation to differentiate themselves from the rest of increasingly nationalist 'Irish' Ireland. David W. Miller has argued that the development of an Ulster Presbyterian identity, one which increasingly left out other Protestant and unionist groups in the rest of Ireland was seen as the only way of meeting 'modern "empirical" standards' about what constituted a legitimate national group worthy of

[527] Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, p.3
[528] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p.7
[529] Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, pp.284-9

consideration.[530] Clark's articulation of the competing pulls of identity crucially acknowledge that whilst birth and identified cultural characteristics were important in defining Scottishness, and a broader version of Irishness, engagement with 'voluntarastic' political nations, of British unionists and Irish nationalists was increasingly becoming the most important division within Ireland, and as has been shown, those divisions largely rested upon acceptance and advocacy of the modern ideals of the political and economic foundations of the British state and empire.

If Clark sought to erect boundaries between the Britishness of unionists and the Irishness of nationalists then the experience of T.W. Russell, like Thomas Drummond, before him, served to demonstrate the fluidity of such boundaries, and of the individual's ability to transcend them. Like his fellow unionists, Russell's early time in parliament largely saw his Scottish identity used by Irish nationalists to undermine his credibility. John Pinkerton MP for Galway told Russell during a debate in 1886 that 'as a Scotchman, the hon. Member was not a fit judge of the aspirations of the Irish people; and it was very remarkable that he, a stranger, should dictate to Irishmen what was necessary for the good of their country.'[531] Again, his status as Irish authority or Scottish outsider was dependent on who was speaking. During debates in 1887 on possible amendments to the 1881 Land Act, Henry Campbell-Bannerman rose in opposition to proposals from the Conservative government and invoked Russell's shared opposition to these specific proposals as justification:

> The hon. Member for South Tyrone is a genuine Irish Representative, and he has the advantage enjoyed by few, if any, of the Irish supporters of the Government, of having no connection with the landlord class—[Mr. T. M. HEALY: Or with Ireland; he is a Scotchman.]—At all events he is a genuine Irish Representative, and a firm supporter of the present Government in its present Irish policy.[532]

For Campbell-Bannerman it was convenient to emphasise Russell's Irish connections. With knowledge and experience of Ulster's tenant-farmers, and as a unionist, Russell's support could, in Campbell-Bannerman's eyes, be used to strengthen his arguments against Conservative policy. Of course, Irish nationalists, like Healy, though no friends

[530] Miller, 'Presbyterianism and "Modernisation" in Ulster', pp.108-9
[531] John Pinkerton, HC Deb 02 September 1886 vol 308 c.1134
[532] Henry Campbell-Bannerman, HC Deb 11 July 1887 vol 317 cc.390-3

of the government, were quite willing to point out that the unionist Russell did not meet their interpretation of Irishness. Political contingency was once more determining the identification of a Scot in Ireland. Russell directly confronted Healy on this issue when the debate resumed the following evening:

> Russell: … the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had charged him last night with the misfortune of being a Scotchman.
>
> Healy: I never said that it was a misfortune.
>
> Russell: Well, I thought that was the character of the observation.
>
> Healy: No; I said it was rather your good fortune.
>
> Speaker: Order, order!
>
> Russell: said, he could tell the hon. Member this—that he had lived more years in Ireland than he (Mr. T. M. Healy) had lived altogether; and until the hon. and learned Member and his Friends set up their despotism in Dublin, Scotchman as he was, he should continue to represent those who had sent him to that House, regardless of what the hon. and learned Member might think.[533]

Clearly Russell, like Corbett, saw the confidence of his constituents as more important than his national origin in defining his right to participate in British parliamentary activity. This did not prevent further attempts by Healy to undermine Russell's claims to speak for Ireland, most usually by correcting any other MP who referred to Russell as Irish.[534] During the 1889 Queen's Speech, Healy interrupted Russell to express his surprise that 'the hon. Gentleman manages to work himself up into such a passion; why, he is not even an Irishman… I am astonished that the hon. Gentleman, being a Scotchman, should get up steam so rapidly, and work himself into a passion on behalf of a country with which he has nothing to do, except that he owns an hotel in it.'[535] Again, we should not perhaps be surprised that Irish nationalists were seeking to use Russell's Scottish origins to undermine his legitimacy, as a unionist, when speaking on Irish issues. Like Barrie, however, the ambiguity of Russell's national status was also double-edged, on unionist platforms in Scotland he was shouted down and

[533] T W Russell and T M Healy, HC Deb 12 July 1887 vol 317 c.540
[534] For example, T M Healy HC Deb 26 August 1887 vol 320 c.62
[535] T M Healy, HC Deb 28 February 1889 vol 333 cc.669-70

heckled as ‘an Irishman’.[536] Politics, rather than strict interpretations of national identity seem once again to be the deciding factor in how other political actors chose to engage with these Scottish unionists. That this was the case might be seen more clearly following Russell’s moves towards independence from the Unionist party and eventual re-embrace of Liberalism, with its concomitant commitments to Home Rule. The anonymously written biography accompanying his contributions to Stead’s *Coming Men*, fully embraced notions of a dual national identity based upon the services that Russell had rendered to Ireland, by implication Irish tenants against the landlord class. Russell was described as ‘a Lowland Scot inspired by an Irishman’ and ‘more Irish than the Irish’. Again, this achievement of some form of Irishness was attributed to his ‘loyalty’ and ‘devotion’ to his ‘adopted country’, which had manifested itself in his support for tenant-rights, compulsory purchase, and for a Catholic university.[537] It should of course be noted that this implicitly identifies Irishness as a rural and Catholic quality. The culmination of this assessment of Russell’s transformation from Presbyterian Scot to saviour of the Irish tenantry was presented in grand religious terms:

> In the far away past Ireland sent her apostles to Scotland to convert the heathen to be found in the midst of her savage fastnesses to the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace. Nowadays, as if by attempting to repay the debt, on the instalment plan, Scotland sent Mr Russell to Ireland to be baptised in the Irish spirit, in order that he might help the Irish to do for themselves that which by themselves under existing conditions, they never would be able to do for themselves.[538]

This passage deserves detailed analysis. On the one hand it invokes the idea of ancient linkages between Ireland and Scotland, a past where Christian Ireland sent men to save the souls of pre-Christian Scots, before moving to a present where it is Ireland and the Irish who need to be saved, and who are powerless to save themselves. The idea that somehow in the intervening time Scotland had overtaken Ireland in terms of civilisation and enlightenment is implicit here, potentially as part of Scotland’s embrace of Protestantism, Britishness, and empire. The idea, that Ireland required outside help, ideally Scottish, to improve itself is also interesting, and one

[536] *Glasgow Herald*, 16 April 1886, p.7
[537] Anon., ‘T.W. Russell’ in Stead (ed.), *Coming Men*, pp.233-236
[538] Ibid., p.234

which will be seen in other contexts through this thesis. For now, the denial of Irish political agency independent of a Scottish-British influence should be noted. Beyond that the implied existence of a distinct 'Irish spirit' in which it was possible to be 'baptised', is again suggestive of an Irishness that could be attained through certain actions on behalf of Ireland and its people. This idea, which was present in contemporary remembrances of Thomas Drummond's experience in Ireland some seventy years earlier, was not confined to this anonymous biography. When fighting the North Tyrone byelection in 1911, one Catholic priest speaking at a rally in Sion Mills, told the assembled crowd that 'although a Scotchman, and possessing that grit and perseverance of the Scotch, he had acquired that warmth of heart and kindly feeling of which Irishmen were noted.' This proclamation was immediately followed by a listing of the causes Russell had supported: tenant rights, working class housing, a Catholic university, House of Lords reform, and Home Rule. Again, there was an implicit link between Russell's having achieved some degree of Irishness and his actions on behalf of Ireland, as defined as the interests of Catholic, nationalist Ireland.[539] Similar themes were invoked upon his death in 1920. His obituary in the *Irish Times* repeated the trope of his being 'more Irish than the Irish'. It opened with the statement that 'Sir Thomas Wallace Russell was for so many years predominantly associated the public life in Ireland that it was generally though he was an Irishman, Scottish by birth he was Irish in [action?] (this word is partially obscured)', before going on to explain his 'love of the country'. It is noteworthy that the immediate context of 1920, ongoing military conflict between the British state and explicitly Republican nationalism, seemed to have dulled any desire on the part of the *Irish Times*, whose editorial line had been largely unionist through its existence, to criticise Russell for abandoning unionism in favour of Home Rule. Rather, emphasis was placed upon the positive work he had done in Ireland, as both a private entrepreneur, and as a public representative.[540] Again, like Drummond decades earlier, Russell, through perceived public service to Ireland, could be seen to have achieved a tangible degree of Irishness. Again, this might be worth considering within Gellner's framework of cultural and voluntarastic nations. Whilst Russell remained culturally Scottish, by working in

[539] *Ulster Herald*, 30 September 1911, p.7
[540] *IT* 3 May 1920, p.5; *WIT*, 8 May 1920, p.4

the interests of the self-defining voluntarastic Irish nation he might be accepted as part of it.

Reflections upon the lives of these Scots after death also demonstrated wider Irish engagement with certain tropes of Scottishness. In Russel's case the idea of his being a self-made man risen from humble beginnings was central. This theme had been present during his life, with one account of his early years stating that 'He was born in Cupar, Fife, *according to the usual formula of poor and honest parents*' (emphasis added). This particular account went on to draw the comparison between Russell and fellow self-made Fifer Andrew Carnegie, and the idea of their being a 'usual formula' to successful emigrant Scots is something that should be noted.[541] Likewise, the same electoral rally at Sion discussed above was told that Russell was 'a self-made man' who had 'passed through the university of the world' rather than expensive education at an ancient university.[542] His obituary and funeral eulogy reinforced these ideas. Mourners at his funeral were told of how he became a 'self-taught and self-developed man', whilst the press recorded his 'frugal and thrifty' parents who had thus managed to provide him a rudimentary education in the Scottish system.[543] Similar themes were apparent on the deaths of the other Scots discussed above, George Clark, and H.T Barrie. All three men had come to Ireland in their late teens or early twenties and managed to build successful businesses. George Clark's journey from 'small beginnings' was celebrated as a result of his being 'an indefatigable worker'.[544] H.T. Barrie's successful business career was achieved 'by dint of perseverance and business aptitude'.[545] Clearly, a common narrative of the hard-working Scot building a fortune abroad was one which the Irish press felt ready to apply to these men. The ubiquitous, and peculiar Scottishness, of this narrative can be seen in chapter four when considering the experience of Scottish professionals and businessmen in Dublin under the union, and perhaps demonstrate wider engagement with the idea of the Scottish 'lad o'pairts', of how the supposedly democratic and meritocratic Scottish schools system could allow those with talent to rise no matter how humble their beginnings.[546] Another point of interest relevant to other chapters within this work

[541] Anon., 'T.W.Russell' in Stead (ed.), *Coming Men*, p.233
[542] *Ulster Herald*, 30 September 1911, p.7
[543] *IT,* 6 May 1920, p.6; *WIT*, 8 May 1920, p.4
[544] *IT*, 25 March 1935, p.8
[545] *IT*, 19 April 1921, p.6
[546] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, pp.1-2, 344

might be seen in the title of H.T. Barrie's obituary, 'Death of Right Hon. H.T. Barrie: An Agricultural Expert'. The article went on to explain that Barrie, Vice-President of the DATI, was 'like his predecessor [Russell] a native of Scotland', though it may just be a comment on an interesting coincidence, there might be some justification of seeing this as a partial echo of those wider nineteenth-century discourses which identified a peculiarly Scottish affinity with agricultural improvement (See chapter three, below).

Whilst it must be remembered that these Scots unionists are representative of one distinct period of Irish political history under the union post-1886, their experiences are useful to this study. Firstly, they serve as further evidence of the political contingency of national identity. Engagement with their Scottishness by opponents was almost always designed as a means of attempting to undermine or delegitimise their unionism in the Irish context. Clark's explicit distinction between a loyal British and nationalist Irish Ireland went furthest in drawing boundaries between these Scots as part of a core Britishness, from which nationalist Ireland, the 'voluntarastic' political Irish nation, was excluded. There were implicit shadows of Clark's worldview in the actions of others. Corbett and Russell in invoking the right of their constituents to choose them as representatives despite not being native to Ireland were *de facto* accepting an ideology of a common 'voluntarastic' British-UK identity in which any individual from any constituent part might represent those people of another. Those Irish nationalists who sought to highlight the Scottishness of these men as evidence of their ignorance or unsuitability for their roles were implicitly and, at times, explicitly rejecting this logic. In this they too were implicitly sharing Clark's view of Ireland in which Irishness and Britishness were incompatible, and where the ultimate test of those identities was in adherence to political Irish nationalism or its equivalent British unionism. This also serves to connect this group to the earlier discussion of Thomas Drummond, and a version of Irishness defined in service to a self-identified rural, Catholic, and nationalist Irish nation. Russell, in his support for Catholic university education, land reform, and eventually Home Rule, i.e. the causes of that 'voluntarastic' Catholic Irish nation, managed, at the last, to achieve some degree of Irishness in the eyes of that nation.

Conclusions

Any study of Scots as government officials in Ireland is necessarily constrained by the relative paucity of examples. For Charles Grant, uniquely placed as a long-serving Scottish Chief-Secretary in the pre-Reform era, we have no comparison to analyse

whether the apparent anti-Scottish feeling and Scottish place seekers were typical. But it was clear that even in the early-nineteenth century, his national identity was a point of engagement in Ireland, for both his detractors and his fellow Scots. Drummond's influence was long lasting, such that the memories of his period in office retained rhetorical significance into the early-twentieth century. Several key themes serve to link the varying experiences of these men. Firstly, the flexibility of their Scottish identity to the Irish was common to all, capable of being largely ignored, as in the case of the Balfours, exploited, in the case of Drummond, or exaggerated, as in the case of Trevelyan. The explicit and consistent engagement with Campbell-Bannerman as Scottish seems a reflection both of his otherwise bland public character, and as a means of linking him and Trevelyan as foreign officials. For all of these men their Scottishness was addressed when it was politically useful to do so, otherwise it was ignored. Secondary to this was the asymmetry between Irish presentations of their nationality and the identity articulated by the men themselves. While the press talked of 'Scotch Trevelyan', the man himself, and some Scots, identified him as firmly English. Whilst Arthur and Gerald Balfour engaged freely with their Scottish heritage this had little effect on their Irish image as the scions of Tory aristocracy and servants of the British state. Finally, the issue of knowing Ireland, of Irish forms of knowledge and understanding is important. It was Drummond's ability to perceive and understand Irish difference which enhanced his place in collective Irish nationalist memory as *the* good British official, a quality some would similarly bestow upon T.W. Russell. Likewise, Lord and Lady Aberdeen felt that they too had discerned something in the Irish character that unionists could not see. That they were encouraged in this belief by a self-serving Irish nationalist narrative of the 'good Lord Lieutenant', 'good' for Home Rulers, belies the fact that their understanding was rooted in their own romanticised image of their rural Scottish estates. Subversion of this idea was possible by unionists, who could claim that their understanding was deeper and recognised the true nature of an Irish character that at once was really less interested in nationalism than material progress.

What is abundantly clear is that such ideas of knowing Ireland and the Irish were not dictated by any tangible affinity between the Irish and the Scots. Campbell-Bannerman's claims to that effect on taking office were roundly dismissed or contested in Ireland, and he himself saw little evidence of pro-Irish feeling amongst his

constituents. Imagined Celtic ties were no balm for Scots inhabiting Irish office under the union, rather they were judged not by their nationality, but their political leanings. Bryce and Birrell were otherwise similar intellectual Liberals seen as having extensive knowledge of the background of Irish political issues. Yet their differing receptions and legacies reflected their relationship with nationalist Ireland, Bryce as a failure responsible for the disappointment of the Irish Council Bill, Birrell as a true friend to Home Rulers who succeeded in getting it onto the statute book. If their Scottishness could be usefully employed to strengthen or further an Irish grievance or cause then it would be enthusiastically used, if not then it was largely ignored.

The role of Scots as Irish MPs, can offer insight in conjunction with those Scots holding government office. In denying any inherent inconsistency between their Scottishness and their service in Ireland as part of the UK apparatus of parliamentary democracy, these men were demonstrating an understanding of Britishness which subordinated its constituent national identities to a greater imperial whole. Being Scottish was not seen as a barrier to either representing or governing other parts of the United Kingdom, as all people were in the end British citizens of the same British state. Some, like Aberdeen, and, though perhaps more superficially, Campbell-Bannerman, saw their Scottishness as making them particularly suited to Irish office. What was clear by the late-nineteenth century was that Irish nationalism did not share this outlook, viewing Irishness and Britishness as distinct rather than complimentary identities. Similarly, developments within British Liberalism towards an emphasis on democracy as liberty saw the increasing acceptance of the case for Irish self-governance founded upon the identification of Catholic Ireland as a distinct and coherent democracy apart from Britain. Ultimately the separateness of Irishness, and whether this necessitated a separate Irish government was the fault line along which the Home Rule question was ostensibly fought. The complexity added by an Irish unionism increasingly concentrated in Ulster, allowed men like Clark to continue to see their political involvement within this particular Irish community as a demonstration of that group's shared Britishness, a group for whom their Irishness was either subordinated to the larger British whole, or replaced by a newly articulated Ulster identity. All of these Scots, whether labelled so by themselves or others, in Irish office demonstrated the asymmetry and variety of identities that could be adopted by and imposed upon political figures in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Ireland within the union.

They also demonstrate the increasing role that political nationalism played in shaping understandings of Irish and British national identities. These Scots, comfortable with assuming political positions in Ireland as part of the British state apparatus demonstrated an ongoing commitment to an overarching Britishness which nationalist Ireland increasingly rejected. The process by which nationalist Ireland sought to narrow the boundaries of cultural Irishness to better reflect its political constituency led to the development of a distinctly articulated Ulster identity in response in north-eastern Ireland. Ulster unionism drew on its Scottish heritage as one of the key bases for this newly emergent identity to justify Ulster's continued participation within the shared British state, separate if need be from 'Irish' Ireland. This chapter has served to re-emphasise the link between group identity and individual utility. Both Scots and Irish politicians sought to define the boundaries of Scottish, Irish, Ulster, and British identities to suit their own immediate purposes.

Scots and Irish land[547]

Introduction

'Scotland and Ireland are governed by the same Sovereign, Lords, and Commons. Scotland is the best farmed country in Europe, and Ireland about the worst'.[548] This opinion of Samuel Hussey, an Irish land agent, summarised much contemporary thought on the respective merits of Scots and Irish agriculture during the nineteenth century. The Scottish example of agricultural improvement since the eighteenth century was held up by Scots themselves, by Royal Commissions, and even some Irishmen, as the standard to which Irish agriculture should aspire. Agricultural discourse within the United Kingdom provided another area in which an explicit distinct Scottish identity was able to articulate itself. Before the upheaval wrought by the Famine upon Ireland's land systems the greatest Scottish involvement was in managerial and advisory capacities upon Irish estates, serving under a variety of titles such as stewards, land agents, managers, and agriculturists. The depopulation caused by the Famine, through emigration alongside mortality, opened Ireland up to new Scottish farmers promised rich returns from improvable Irish land. Scots remained prominent as agricultural experts but their dominant popular image came to be that of the post-Famine tenant farmer, grazing cattle or sheep on newly cleared land. By the late-nineteenth century, distinct Irish conceptions of land had become 'the very essence of national identity' resulting from 'a failure to resolve the conflict between traditional rights and a modern economy'.[549] Contending views over how Irish land should be used exposed a clash of cultures representative of how both Scottish and Irish identities were articulated within the wider United Kingdom and Empire. Scots upheld a strict legal understanding of land-ownership combined with ideals of land as a resource with a primarily economic purpose; the Irish maintained a social understanding of the land which placed the emphasis of traditional communal rights and land as a means of subsistence. This analysis shall chart the involvement of Scots with Irish land throughout the period and attempt to demonstrate how the encounters

[547] Some material in this chapter was previously submitted within Stuart Clark, 'Scottish-Irish Encounters: People, Land and the Military, c.1800-1922' (Unpublished MScR thesis, University of Edinburgh 2015)
[548] Samuel Hussey, *The Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent Being Those of Samuel Hussey, Compiled by Home Gordon* (London 1904), p.32
[549] Bull, 'Irish Land and British Politics' in Cragoe and Readman (eds.) *The Land Question in Britain*, p.143

between Scottish and Irish ideas of agriculture informed the relations between the two nationalities.

Examination of Scottish involvement in Irish land will identify three distinct periods of Scottish involvement before considering how Irish agrarian violence affected Scots. In some ways these reflect the multitude of potential Scottish experiences of Irish land, each of which carried its own particular set of interactions and relationships. The first from 1800 to the onset of the Famine in 1845 will demonstrate the growing influence of Scottish agricultural thought on improvement in Ireland. The Royal Agricultural Improvement Society estimated that by 1841 two hundred Scottish and English land stewards and agents worked across Ireland managing estates, a disproportionate number of whom were Scots.[550] These men could, through employment on large estates affect the lives of hundreds or thousands of Irish tenants. Study of this group will largely make use of the detailed testimony produced by parliamentary commissions into Irish land, in addition to the writings of Scottish improvers visiting the country. These will be supplemented by estate records from one Scottish-owned Irish estate, that of the Murrays in Donegal. Together they shall seek to emphasise the existence of agricultural thought recognised by both Scots and Irish as distinctively Scottish, and examine how attempts to manage Irish land and tenants along these lines affected mutual conceptions of national identity. The second will attempt to demonstrate the post-Famine peak of Scottish self-confidence in their ability and justifications to involve themselves in Irish land, accompanied by the large-scale influx of Scottish farmers to Ireland in its aftermath. This section shall focus upon the further influence of Scottish agricultural thought at a public policy level, the attempts to convince Scots of the potential benefits of taking up Irish holdings, alongside the academic and popular interpretations of Scottish experience as arriviste farmers and tenants during the 1840s and 1850s. Together, these sections demonstrate the confident assertion of Scottish identity through the medium of a self-proclaimed expertise in agriculture, whilst discovering the extent to which the Irish were willing to engage with these ideas.

The third section will reflect upon the decline of Scottish farmers in Ireland. Making use of increasingly gloomy Scottish improving sentiment with regards to Ireland, and

[550] Thomas Scott, *Ireland Estimated as a Field for Investment* (London 1854), p.34

engaging with the place Scots agriculture and agriculturists had within the developing public rhetoric of Irish land reformers and nationalists. It shall document the growing realisation amongst Scottish agricultural ideologues that perhaps Irish cultural difference could not ultimately be surmounted; and a collective rhetoric of Irish nationalism which made explicitly Scottish interference in Irish land symbolic of the failure of British state in Ireland, and which made Scots seem legitimate targets of agrarian violence. This final theme is the subject of the final section of this chapter, which again makes use of parliamentary commissions and individual recollections to demonstrate the variety of hostile activities that Scots could face, whether as transient employees or settled farmers and tenants. The clash between competing Scottish and Irish views on land and land ownership serves an important marker for the broader cultural differences which underlay their contrasting experiences of union.

Pre-Famine Ireland

The Scotland inhabiting the United Kingdom created in 1801 was nearing the end of what T.C. Smout has called an 'agricultural revolution' beginning in the eighteenth century.[551] Landlords and farmers drove changes to Scottish farming systems and rural society with the aim of rationalising agriculture and maximising their incomes by consolidating holdings, draining the land, and pursuing innovative methods of husbandry and cultivation.[552] Smout argued that Scots landowners were driven by 'fashion, patriotism and the admiration felt by Scots of all political persuasions for a farming system that made the English so much more affluent than themselves.'[553] T.M. Devine has pointed out that improvement 'was not simply a narrowly materialistic undertaking, though profit and its increase were the prime movers. It was also a more broadly ideological mission to "improve" and modernise Scottish society.'[554] For the Scottish improver Smout notes that 'his interest in agriculture was a cultural one rather than an economic one. This was his bit for Scotland, his way of dragging her into the Britain of the eighteenth century.'[555] Scottish elites were using agricultural

[551] Smout, *History of the Scottish People*, p.272
[552] Ibid., pp.272-6
[553] Ibid., p.277
[554] T.M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815* (Edinburgh 1994), p.65
[555] Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p.273

improvement to bring Scotland more in line economically and socially with England, to make manifest the ideals of union. Scotland and her farmers acquired a reputation for agricultural competence and expertise at making the best of the land at their disposal. Understanding the relationship between Scots and Ireland's land and people depends upon recognising the interlinkage of these two points. Scots saw themselves not only as the best qualified technically but, through their own experience of union, the best qualified morally and ideologically to pursue policies of improvement in Ireland, policies which represented an expansion of the rational enlightenment ethos which shaped Scotland's engagement with Britain and its Empire. Henry D. Inglis, a Scot touring Ireland in 1834, explicitly made this connection between improvement of the land and the physical and moral wellbeing of the people:

> Is Ireland an improving country? The reply ought to depend altogether on the meaning we affix to the word improvement. If by improvement be meant more extended tillage, and improved modes of husbandry... then Ireland is indeed an improving country; but up to the point at which I have arrived, I have found nothing to warrant the belief that any improvement has taken place in the condition of the people.[556]

For other Scots, as visitors, farmers and agriculturists, in Ireland during the nineteenth century the Irish customs and traditions judged to be holding back their agriculture must also have seemed a key block to the Irish people successfully fulfilling a role alongside Scots within the United Kingdom and Empire as West Britons.

Within Scottish farming circles, discussions on Irish agriculture in the early-nineteenth century served to demonstrate two important themes: firstly, the assumptions and methods upon which the ideology of Scottish agricultural expertise rested; and secondly the utility of their universal application to Ireland. It is crucial to recognise that the underlying sentiment was not one of permanent or inherent Irish deficiency, but of the need to remedy Irish agricultural thought and practice so that the potential of the land and people could be fulfilled. These sentiments were entirely in keeping with contemporary ideas about human progress and the universal good offered by modern political economy.[557]. Edinburgh's *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture* published from the

[556] Henry D Inglis, *A Journey Throughout Ireland, During the Spring, Summer, and Autumn of 1834, Vol. I Part I From Dublin, through Wexford, Waterford, and Cork* (Ballycastle 2013), p.41
[557] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.202-3

late 1820s to the 1840s reflected this wider intellectual concern within Scottish agriculture with the pursuit of rational thought and its application to improvement in both Scotland and Ireland. The benefits of studying Ireland were articulated by one contributor:

> From a comparative point of view agricultural practice in different countries, or even in different districts of the same country, much improvement may result to each reciprocally… even Scotland, mistress of the art, may yet condescend to glean from dilatory, distracted, poverty-stricken, but *fertile* Ireland, some germ of improvement, some hint or habit of rural practice worthy of a place in her distinguished agricultural code.[558] (original emphasis)

Despite such lofty claims, the assumption of Scottish superiority infused most such comparisons or analysis, this article concluded in the hope that Ireland might yet 'arrive at the excellence of East Lothian cultivation.'[559] What then were the factors Scots identified as being behind their comparative success? At a practical level there was a technological aspect to the Scottish claim to agricultural expertise which saw the national appropriation of specific designs of certain implements. 'Scots' ploughs, carts, rakes and even mills were all appropriated by the national label and touted for their superior utility.[560] Jonathan Bell has argued that such technological innovations contributed to the global reputation Scots cultivated as agricultural improvers, but that their uptake in Ireland largely reflected local conditions rather than a whole-hearted embrace of the underlying mindset of improvement.[561]

The Scots plough particularly was seen as the supreme instrument of improving Irish farming practice, one contributor reported that 'a new era' of cultivation and productivity was begun by the free distribution of two hundred 'Scotch ploughs' by the Farming Society of Ireland. These donations reinforced the link between improvement and the modern mindset, with recipients coming only from those 'whose industry and sobriety should be certified by the clergyman of his parish and by a resident member

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[558] Anon., 'On Irish Agriculture', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture,* Vol. IV No. XXI (1833), p.302
[559] Ibid., p.10
[560] Ibid., pp.298-9; Mr. Stephens, 'On the Agricultural State of Ireland', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. III, No. XVII (1832), pp.734-5; Anon. 'Flour making in Ireland', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. IV, No. XXIII (1833), pp.48-9
[561] Jonathan Bell, 'Scottish Influences on Irish Farming Techniques' in Morris and Kennedy (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland*, pp. 54, 57

of the society.' Material access to new technology was made conditional on fulfilling modernist moral standards. Such praise for the Irish society was, as ever, loaded with a degree of Scottish self-congratulation. Having operated between 1800 and 1828, the society had run out of money and folded. One Scottish commentator reflected that it had been 'a Society which had always held the agriculture of Scotland in highest estimation and respect – which adopted much of her practice and many of her implements, with which had they contrived to import also the seeds of her prudence and economy, they might still have to vie even with her in national utility.'[562] The message was clear, that implements alone were not sufficient to reach the 'East Lothian' standard, but also a commitment to a rational approach to farming. If the ordinary Irish farm labourer did not understand 'the application of the simplest principles to his art' then Scots had the solution to this problem on hand, Scottish oversight: 'There is no fear of the Irish labourers working well if they were properly superintended. They work well when they come over to Scotland.'[563] Again, the potential of the Irish labourer was not in doubt, but they needed a good example and to be taught how best to improve the land under their control. Even on those Irish estates showing some signs of improvement it was alleged that 'as their proprietors well know, the deficiencies of agricultural practice are very obvious indeed, when contrasted with the perfection of Scotch husbandry and Scotch management.'[564] And what of those estates which were identified as good examples of improvement? One was 'under the good management of a Scots gentleman', on another the farmer had 'successfully introduced a Scotch system of husbandry', and on the final example a Scottish farmer was acting land steward.[565] The need for Scottish involvement, in terms of personnel or example, was taken as a given requirement of Ireland's future agricultural prosperity. Thus, when Irish landlords were criticised for their lack of effective estate management, Scottish factors were the implicit remedy; Scottish leases were advocated as a superior alternative to informal Irish subdivision and freehold; and even the Scottish Tithe system was held up as a reason for Scotland's comparative agricultural success over Ireland.[566] Clearly, Scots viewed there farming

[562] 'R.', 'On the Objects and Effects of the late Farming Society of Ireland', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture,* Vol. IV, No. XXIII (1833), pp.513-4, 528
[563] Stephens, 'On the Agricultural State of Ireland'. pp.754-7
[564] 'D.', 'On Irish Landlords', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol, IV, No. XXI (1833), p.388-9
[565] Stephens, 'On the Agricultural State of Ireland', p.754
[566] Ibid., pp.761-2, 744; D.', 'On Irish Landlords', pp.390, 393-4; Anon., 'On the Tithe System of Scotland', *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. IV, No. XX (1832), pp.262-4; 272-4

expertise as not merely a product of good practice and new technologies but as the result of the ideas and mindsets which underpinned their wider engagement with the idea of modernity and 'improvement' more generally across Scottish society, particularly the security of property rights.[567] With this faith in the modern rational improvement of society came the corresponding belief in the application of these principles to Ireland and the Irish. As one Scots theorists put it, he 'did not think the Irish peasantry are incapable of being rendered a noble, generous, and excellent people; their extreme *tractability* renders them fit subjects for moral influence if that influence could be freely exerted.'[568] This then was the archetypal modern explanation of Ireland's comparative distress, the ignorance of its people to a superior rational system. If the Irish could be educated, if they could be shown and subsequently learn to apply the general principles and methodology of improved agriculture, then there was nothing in nature to stop them from reaching the same heights of agricultural productivity as Scotland.

If this was the theory, we may now move to the examination of these interactions in practice, first on the Murray estates in Donegal, and then through the many Scottish contributions to the Royal Commission on Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, the Devon Commission, which sat during the 1840s and reported on the eve of the Famine. Crucially, several themes remain consistent with what has been discussed, the requirement of good Scottish management to extract the best Irish workers, the use of Scottish standards as exemplars of excellence, the faith in the power of Scottish forms of lease and landholding, and the assumed link between material and moral improvement.

Large landholdings belonging to Scottish nobility were not common in Ireland, but Scots landowners did, it seems, attempt to improve their Irish estates. The Murrays of Broughton had held their Donegal estates centred on Castle Murray and Killybegs since the seventeenth century and by death of James Murray in 1799 the lands amounted to more than thirty thousand acres, inherited by his natural son Alexander Murray, then a minor.[569] The conditions of Alexander's inheritance were complex and

[567] 'D.', 'On Irish Landlords', p.391-4; Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.48-9, 85-5, 100-82
[568] D.', 'On Irish Landlords', p.410
[569] NRS GD10 Papers of the Murray Family of Broughton, Wigtown, and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire; NRS GD10/962 Act of Parliament "for effecting the sale of certain estates in the County of Donegal in Ireland, devised by the will of James Murray Esquire, deceased".

ideas of improved agriculture, specifically the benefits of consolidating holdings, lay at the heart of the eventual settlement made by Act of Parliament:

> (T)here are considerable troubles and expense attending the letting and management of the said Estates in Ireland, and the same, or a great part thereof, be in detached parcels, intermixed with the lands of other proprietors, and for which reasons the same are considered capable of being sold to advantage; and it would be to the benefit of the said Alexander Murray... if the said Estates in Ireland were sold and the money arising from the Sale thereof invested in the purchase of a more compact or convenient Estate in Ireland.[570]

The interests of improvement and rationalised holdings were in this case held above keeping the estate intact. Alexander Murray seems to have spent time and effort in improving his land, a review of the estate on his own death in 1845 noted that 'from a wish to improve his estate by setting an example to his tenants' he 'had taken into his own hands a large farm called Meentinada upon which he had laid out a large of sum of money'.[571] The report's Scottish author, acting on behalf of the guardians of Murray's young heir, doubted that any Irishman could take up the running of an improved farm such as this:

> It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find a suitable tenant in Ireland with sufficient capital to undertake the expense of stocking, and labouring, and improving a farm of this extent and description.[572]

Clearly the Scots management doubted the capability of Irish tenantry to possess the required levels of management skills to execute a Scottish standard of farming. The report also demonstrated the difficulties such measures could cause between landowners and tenants. The land 'had been originally occupied by a number of small tenants, of whom Mr Murray got rid... Upon Mr Murray's death, these men... forcibly seized on the offices and other buildings, and under pretence of having still rights thereto, took possession of them… (M)ost rigorous' action was required by local law enforcement to stop the subsequent 'riotous proceedings.[573] The Irish tenantry clearly

[570] NRS GD10/962 Act of Parliament "for effecting the sale of certain estates in the County of Donegal in Ireland, devised by the will of James Murray Esquire, deceased".
[571] NRS GD10//966 Report relative to the estate of Killybegs, p.15
[572] Ibid., pp.16-17
[573] Ibid., pp.15-18

did not like Scottish attitudes towards regular cash rents, in 1801 they petitioned against 'instructions from Scotland to make us pay the rent immediately', and sought to inform their absentee landlord of practices on neighbouring Irish estates where rent demands were less arduous and terms more generous.[574] Upon Murray's death, 'a general feeling prevailed among the tenantry that their leases would be set aside and that they might be turned adrift.'[575] The 1845 report judged that 'if any proceedings are taken with a view to calling in question *any one* of the leases on the estate, it would be attached with the very worst consequences', all that remained possible was 'to encourage the tenants to amend their own condition by improving their farms.'[576] This Irish reluctance to trust the legal framework of landholding which Scots took for granted remained a cultural barrier between Scottish and Irish conceptions of land throughout the period. Witnesses to the Royal Commission on Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, the Devon Commission, from the Murray Estates clearly felt that their Scottish landlord did not act for them. William Graham of Milltown, County Donegal, cast doubt upon his landlord Murray's willingness to help his tenantry because 'he is a Scotchman, who is not resident.'[577] This prompted an angry reply from Murray, by this time a Member of Parliament, and his agent John Houghton. Murray stated that:

> (O)f all the men on my estate Graham is the very last who has any ground of complaint against me. Nor do I exactly know what he means by an absentee. I have a house in Ireland, which he knows I go very frequently to, and a much larger farm than any person in the country, the offices of which have cost me £3000. Last year I did not come to Scotland at all, but in the summer I spent two months, and returned again in winter, for six or seven weeks in Ireland; and I believe that I am as well acquainted with that part of the country as any man in it.[578]

[574] NRS GD10/961 Petition by the tenants of the Irish estates of Alexander Murray of Broughton concerning payment of rent
[575] NRS GD10//966 Report relative to the estate of Killybegs, p.2
[576] Ibid., pp.6-8
[577] *Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland Part II,* HC (1845) [616], xx.1 (Hereafter referred to as Devon Commission Part 2), p.166
[578] Devon Commission Part 2 Appendix, p.6

Houghton offered an extensive description of how his employer had worked in the interest of the tenants, who held lands 'at low rents, to encourage improvement', and telling how Murray had financed staff and buildings for ten National schools in the area.[579] Houghton also enthused about Murray's commitment to improvement, boasting of the fencing, drainage, and roads that had been built to create 'such farm premises as are not excelled in the county'.[580] Clearly Murray and his agents felt this constituted a great gesture to help tenants improve not only their lands but themselves.

The distrust of Scottish management from tenants reflected wider concerns about clearance. The importation of Scottish tenants to farm newly cleared and consolidated land reinforced the popular Irish connection between Scottish agricultural methods and eviction. Upon the Duke of Devonshire's estates near Bandon, County Cork, Robert Graham, touring Ireland in the 1830s described how 'land occupied by the fourteen small tenants, who were before doing no good under such possession, was let in one farm to Mr Swanston, a man originally from East Lothian... He, being possessed of capital was willing to risk it in farming in this country'.[581] The Devonshire estates seem to have had a history of engaging with Scottish staff and methods before leasing to Mr Swanston. The estate manager told a House of Commons select committee in 1825 how rents on the estate were fixed in County Waterford by 'a Scotch farmer, who is extremely competent and right judging', whilst in County Cork they had 'another person who is a Scotchman… both of whom have been now a considerable length of time in Ireland.' Clearly having two such men advise and fix rental values on the land was an acknowledgment of the accepted discourse on Scottish agricultural expertise, as they were also employed to supervise drainage on the estate.[582] Graham also visited the farm of George Rait, one of two Dundonian brothers farming around Rathmoyle, County Offaly, whose land had been acquired in similar circumstances: 'by the removal of a set of small unthriving tenants, he got a great deal of ill-will at one time and was once shot at... he was very anxious that it should not be pushed to the furthest, as in that case he might have found himself obliged to give up thoughts of

[579] Ibid., pp.6-7
[580] Ibid., pp.6-7
[581] Robert Graham, *A Scottish Whig in Ireland 1835-1838: The Irish Journals of Robert Graham of Redgorton* (Dublin 1999), Henry Heaney (ed.), p.180
[582] *Select Committee of House of Lords to inquire into State of Ireland with reference to Disturbances, Report*, *Minutes of Evidence*, HC (1825) (129), viii.1, pp.295-7

living in this country.'[583] Clearly Scots taking up leases in Ireland could unwittingly be the beneficiaries of evictions, prompting local hostility. Graham was enthusiastic about the work such Scots had done. He claimed that the Rait brothers 'have the credit of being the best farmers in Ireland'; described their use of 'chiefly Scottish horses... much stronger than the average breed of work horses in Ireland'; and pointed out that their seed barley originated from Perthshire.[584] Graham likewise boasted on behalf of Mr Swanston: 'The whole of this land which has only been three years in the possession of Mr Swanston, has already adopted much the appearance of a Berwickshire or East Lothian farm... he will certainly do much good by his example in this vicinity.'[585] The use of Scottish methods, materials, and livestock as the pinnacle of farming excellence was a crucial part of the discourse the Scots had fashioned for themselves, and it is clear that Graham viewed the successful implementation of these methods by Scots in Ireland as a source of national pride.

James McMurtie, an Ayrshire born land steward in County Cork, argued that whilst Irish land had excellent potential, possibly greater than Scotland's, the Irish people were incapable of achieving this potential, 'if they were left to themselves they would not do it right.'[586] The Irish suffered from a 'want of skill and capital', and when asked whether 'a countryman of your own' would be better placed to improve the land he replied in the affirmative.[587] He deemed fulfilling the promise of Ireland's land a task beyond the Irish, Scots needed to intervene. James Bogue, a Scot who had held his lease from the Duke of Devonshire at Larhra, near Bandon, County Cork for six years, defended the abilities of the Irish farmers and labourers, citing those he had employed on his lands in Scotland: 'Yes, they work very hard there; they are forced to work. They are led by a Scotchman there'.[588] Bogue's response was telling: the Irish were not incapable of being effective workers but it required superior Scottish leadership to coax it from them. Bogue did lament the attitude of his Irish neighbours towards the potential for improving their land, 'it appeared to have been a subject they had never thought of", and admitted that his own methods had not inspired the locals to adopt improving

[583] Graham, *A Scottish Whig in Ireland*, p.225
[584] Ibid., pp.224-5
[585] Ibid., p.181
[586] *Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland Part III,* HC (1845) [657], xxi.1 (Hereafter referred to as Devon Commission Part 3), p.134
[587] Devon Commission Part 3, p.134
[588] Devon Commission Part 2, p.1002

techniques, ‘only one man in the neighbourhood has come to me to help him in any way’.[589] Asked whether he had ‘found any dislike to you on the part of the people in the country, arising from the circumstance of your being a Scotchman?’ Bogue’s response was simple: ‘No, quite the reverse.’[590] This was one of the few instances where the specific question of Irish feeling towards Scots was asked of a Scottish witness to the Devon Commission, and it seems that Bogue, whatever his opinion of their agricultural systems, was living peacefully among his Irish neighbours.

Scottish land stewards and agriculturists frequently felt that their interventions went unheeded. Andrew Mair, of Ayrshire, and William Milne, from Aberdeenshire, serving as agriculturists to the Earl of Erne, found that attempts to change tenants’ attitudes proved fruitless and that successful improvement depended upon different motivations:

> Do you find the tenantry willing to follow your advice? - [Mr Milne] No; they are very stiff in that.
>
> Do you think that the premiums offered by Lord Erne have contributed much to improvement? - (Mr Milne) Indeed I think there would be nothing done but for the premiums.
>
> If they were discontinued, are the people so sensible of the improvements that they would continue them? - They think so much of the little premiums, that they do a good deal for the sake of it.[591]

Milne’s response suggests that what progress the Scots had made in altering tenant behaviour had been achieved more by financial incentives than any meaningful changes of attitude amongst the Irish farmers. The Scots had no powers to compel the tenants to improve ‘only to try and persuade them’.[592] Perhaps their own frustrations accounted for their disparaging descriptions of Irish farming: ‘they do it very badly, they merely scratch the land’.[593] Copies of their employment terms showed

[589] Devon Commission Part 2, pp.1001-2
[590] Devon Commission Part 2., p.1001
[591] Devon Commission Part 2, pp.133-4
[592] Ibid., p.134
[593] Ibid.,p.135

the link which existed between the condition of Ireland's land and its people in the minds of improving Scots and Irish landlords:

> It is expected that a corresponding improvement, with due diligence and exertion on your part, will appear amongst the tenantry, and that you will exhibit in your own person an example of strict sobriety, and every other improvement which a well-regulated mode of living is sure to effect on the habits and morals of the people.[594]

This assumed connection between rationalising and improving the land and the people on the land was important. Where the Irish did not farm according improving methods it naturally followed in most Scottish minds that this reflected an irrational and backward inclination within the Irish character. John Christie, a Scots tenant farmer on the Dunraven estates in County Limerick, who also served as agricultural advisor to the estate management, demonstrated a more sympathetic attitude towards the Irish. He conceded that whilst the small farmers were slowly improving their methods it had not produced immediate benefits, they were 'in a worse situation than ever at this moment.'[595] Christie argued that factors beyond the control of Irish farmers contributed to poor agricultural performance, and that Irish farmers were disadvantaged within the British market.[596] Christie's willingness to take the Irish side against British interests, citing the advantages that Scottish farms had over Irish farms, and even going so far to speak of Irish farmers as 'we', is perhaps reflective of the long time that he had spent in Ireland, having been a tenant since the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[597] Robert Graham had visited the Dunraven estates in 1835 and praised the methods adopted by Dunraven and Christie, who were:

> (G)oing on a system which seems to be necessary and in the long run the best for all parties: viz. the getting rid of, as fast as he can, of all the very small tenants. He throws down their houses, and removes the fences and gets the land into good order... thro' the medium of Mr Christie, whom everyone speaks well of as a cultivator. It really is a pleasure to go over a property of this kind.[598]

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[594] Ibid., p.133
[595] Devon Commission part 2, pp.796-7
[596] Ibid., p.797
[597] Ibid., pp.796-7
[598] Graham, *A Scottish Whig,* pp.206-7

Again, Graham's apparent pride in the success of a fellow Scot and his methods was obvious, the idea of removing tenants did not seem to dampen his enthusiasm for improvement. Christie himself was much more reticent about getting rid of tenants, arguing for more moderate leases and generous terms of compensation as a means of encouraging them to undertake their own improvements rather than force the actions of the landlord.[599] Christie's brother-in-law, Mr MacNab, was agriculturist to the Marquis of Thormond in County Cork. Graham commented that MacNab, who had then been in Ireland for seventeen years, was 'the only Scotsman I have encountered who says he has no indication to return to his own country.' The subsequent appraisal that 'he pleases me less than any of my countrymen I have met in similar situations' perhaps reflected Graham's disapproval that any Scot should prefer to stay in Ireland over Scotland.[600] The apparent willingness of long-resident Scots in Ireland to accept Irish life rather than insist on its complete transformation along Scottish improving lines perhaps reflected a realisation that Irish problems ran deeper than insufficient fencing, drainage, or crop rotation. Zealous advocates of idealised improvement such as Graham were not so forgiving.

James Murray Holmes, from Berwickshire and serving as agent for Lord Listowel in County Kerry, was also willing to account for distinctive Irish circumstances in his attempts at improvement. Holmes felt that the land could be made to double its yield but that little effort had been made to achieve such results.[601] He recognised that the difficulty lay in the different attitudes of the Irish and Scottish tenantry towards the land ownership. Holmes argued that whereas in Scotland tenants and landlords agreed lease frameworks around improvement, the lack of trust in leases made this impossible in Ireland: 'Lord Listowel's tenants would rather not have leases. They look upon their tenure as quite secure; and when they have a lease, they are quite sure that the possession will be demanded upon the termination of it'.[602] Holmes also related his frustration at the 'good many petty tricks' the tenants used to delay or avoid the payment of their rents, and how he had 'occasion to distrain to break something like a combination in any particular locality, with a view to holding back the rent.'[603]

[599] Devon Commission Part 2, pp.796-8
[600] Ibid., pp.155-6
[601] Devon Commission Part 2, p.849
[602] Ibid., p.849
[603] Ibid., p.850

Holmes's apparent powerlessness in the face of Irish disdain for the legal framework of leases demonstrates the challenges facing Scots attempting to improve Ireland along Scottish lines. T.M. Devine has pointed to the settled secure legal position that Scottish landlords enjoyed as the key advantage they held over their Irish counterparts.[604] Scottish landlords were able to create and enforce leases which required tenants to make improvements to their land. Devine argues that these 'improving leases' were 'at the heart of the process' in Scotland.[605] Used to the more ordered legal framework of Southern Scotland, Holmes struggled to see how improvement could be successfully encouraged within an Irish context where such leases were treated with suspicion.

James Clapperton, an agriculturist from Berwickshire employed by the Ballinasloe Union Agricultural Society, County Galway, agreed upon the difficulty of convincing the Irish farmer of adopting supposedly superior Scottish techniques and methods:

> (T)o exhibit it to the farmer upon his own farm, where he has really an interest in it, has ten thousand times more influence upon him than if he was to see it executed upon the best model farm in the kingdom. The only chance of success is to bring the agricultural instruction to the small farmer's very door, through the medium of an agriculturist.[606]

Simultaneously justifying his own role and questioning the capacity of Irish farmers for change, Clapperton emphasised how direct instruction was required to educate the Irish farmer: good example was not enough, they had to be confronted with the reality of improvement in an almost childlike manner.

For Irish landlords and farmers there was no greater outward sign of their commitment to improvement than employing a Scot. Irish witnesses to the Devon Commission often addressed questions concerning improvements, or lack thereof, with direct reference to the employment of Scots. Robert D'Arcy defending his landlord Lord Clonbrook's attitude to improvements stated that 'he has laid out a good deal of money this year. He has employed a Scotchman'.[607] John Barre Beresford seeking to demonstrate the

[604] T.M. Devine, *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland 1700-1900* (Edinburgh 2010), pp.38-9
[605] Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland,* p.70/71; see also Devine, *Clearance and Improvement*, p.7
[606] Devon Commission Part 2, p.517
[607] Devon Commission Part 2, p.554

suitability of improving measures on Lord Waterford's estates pointed out that 'It is all done under the superintendence of a Scotch agriculturist.'[608] Rowley Miller, a land agent from County Londonderry, similarly vouched for the drainage on his employer's estate by saying that it was overseen by 'a Scotch person' who was 'very well calculated for his duty, and understands it perfectly.'[609] Successful improvement it seemed was intrinsically linked to Scottish involvement in the minds of Irish landlords and their agents. John Stratton, a land agent in County Louth, offered his explanation for the improvement of local farming: 'I attribute the high state of agriculture in the county to the farming societies, and to the importation of Scotch stewards into our county'.[610] Whilst Alexander Hamilton, a land agent in County Donegal, identified one sure means of progress:

> The state of agriculture is as yet behind what it is to be hoped it will arrive at... The people, however, require guidance and instruction, and that is now being afforded to them, by means of active and intelligent Scotch agriculturist.[611]

These responses demonstrate that a common discourse on agriculture within Britain and Ireland accepted the Scottish self-image as agricultural improvers *par excellence*. Irish land agents and landlords clearly felt that by publicly invoking this Scottish expertise, they were demonstrating their part in an increasingly fashionable modern discourse on land holding and cultivation. The depth to which Scottish ideas of improvement actually permeated landlord consciousness remains unclear. The following exchange demonstrates that for some landlords, superficial engagement with such ideas could be a useful means of disguising a lack of substantive change or interest:

> Have you any suggestions of any measures of improvement? - No person would wish to see the condition of the lower orders of Irish mended more than I should... I see no way in which their condition could be bettered than by changing the system of farming in this country altogether... For the improvement of my own property I am at this moment in treaty with a Scotch

[608] *Report from her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland*, HC (1845) [605][606] xix.1,57 (hereafter referred to as Devon Commission Part 1) p.719
[609] Devon Commission Part 1, p.664
[610] Devon Commission Part 1, p.869
[611] Devon Commission Part 2, p.176

> steward, to attend to my farms altogether, and to the tenants, to get them into an improved system of agriculture...
>
> Can you suggest any means of improving farming besides that of bringing over an agriculturist? - You must show them a system of farming that could be carried out. If every gentleman who had property kept a man of that kind, it would be of great benefit.[612]

Here James Foott, a landowner near Mallow, County Cork, reiterated the explicit connection between improving the land and improving the people: 'the lower orders of Irish' could be 'mended' if agriculture was rationalised and carried out with a view towards maximising output and income. The lack of ideas to achieve this beyond 'bringing over' a Scot to supervise changes was obvious. For such Irish landlords, the desire to improve their land, or at least to be seen to be attempting to, does not seem to have translated into personal engagement with the methods and developing agricultural science of improvement, rather it was a requirement of a newly idealised improving landlord image that could simply be fulfilled by employing a Scot to supervise one's estate.

Nicholas Leader, a landowner in County Cork, played upon the assumption of Scottish agricultural expertise and knowledge to defend Irish landlords as a class:

> (T)he way I judge of the value of the land is seeing what would be given for a farm by a man of capital and skill. I have seen a native of Scotland take a farm in my neighbourhood and he has paid for it a higher rent than I think would be paid by any solvent man of that class in the country. He has told me he is quite content with it, and his opinion is, that the rents of the country are fair.[613]

Leader used the opinion of this Scottish farmer as an authoritative source on the worth and value of land, implicitly linking the Scot to the ideas of 'capital and skill'. The fact that a Scot is willing to pay higher rents for the land is presented as evidence that 'the landlords have acted liberally and given land below what it would actually bring in the market.' Accepting the discourse of the Scots as experts was crucial to this argument: if a Scot was happy with the rents then they had been fairly set. His opinion of other

[612] Devon Commission Part 3, pp.137-138
[613] Devon Commission Part 3, p.136

Irish farmers showed that Leader had to some extent bought into ideas of improvement:

> (I)t is very difficult to get the people to improve their farming. I look upon most of the people of Ireland as totally ignorant upon the subject, and disregarding advice; and taking the great mass of farmers, there is very little spirit of improvement among them.[614]

Leader quite clearly identified the ideological nature of improvement, its 'spirit' was that of a fundamentally different outlook thwarted by 'ignorant' people. That landlords did not always welcome the turn of land ownership towards capital-orientated investment and improvement was apparent in some testimonies. Leader's testimony exhibited hostility towards outside interference in the Irish land system: 'I do not see why the law should be changed in this country and not in England or Scotland, for the landlords have exercised their rights in a very lenient and merciful way.' [615] The idea of an independent Irishness clung on in the face of British ideas of land improvement, and embracing the latter did not necessarily mean abandoning previously held ideals of distinct Irish landlordism. William O'Reilly, a landowner in County Louth, condemned the clearance of tenants to consolidate their small holdings into economic farms, singling out Scotland as the example of the negative effects of such actions: 'The effect upon the population of the country is certainly very apparent in Scotland, and the effect upon the safety of the empire in carrying out such a process would not be long in being determined.'[616] Warning that improved agriculture would see mass depopulation in Ireland akin to contemporary trends in the Scottish Highlands, and here it is important to remember that the testimony was given in populous pre-Famine Ireland, O'Reilly argues that this would reduce the capacity of the UK to defend itself and ultimately damage the UK and its empire. Opposing the enlightenment ethos of improvement by arguing that it undermined the safety of an empire which increasingly rested its claims to legitimacy upon similar values perhaps demonstrates that Irish engagement with the intellectual ideals of improvement was superficial at best.

[614] Devon Commission Part 3, p.135
[615] Devon Commission Part 3, p.136
[616] Devon Commission Part 1, p.384

Post-Famine Ireland

The imperial context of the involvement of Scots in Irish agriculture is one that can usefully be borne in mind during the immediate aftermath of The Great Famine of the late 1840s, which fundamentally altered the structure of rural Irish society. Mortality and emigration reduced the population; the inability, or unwillingness, of some Irish landlords to protect their tenants in full from the catastrophe contributed to a weakening of landlord-tenant ties; whilst other landlords were bankrupted attempting to struggle through it. Without entering the wider historical debate on the Famine, it may perhaps be accepted that this vast human tragedy was viewed by many as an economic and political opportunity. The Famine provided both the justification and platform for a new push at rationalising the Irish land system, with the ultimate aim of a more coherent and peaceful United Kingdom and Empire. Peter Gray has identified 'that the idea of a 'new plantation' of Ireland by entrepreneurial British landowners and farmers had acquired some popularity, particularly through the advocacy of Robert Peel'. Aiming to make 'investment in Irish land fashionable for the British propertied class' it was hoped such policy would create a new 'national unity which would be underpinned by economic integration.'[617] The Encumbered Estates Act introduced in 1849 was designed to allow British capital access to large swathes of Irish land which its owners could no longer afford, and by the end of the 1850s over £20 000 000 worth of Irish land had been bought and sold under the act. And whilst much of this money was spent within Ireland, a considerable portion was taken from Scots and English farmers and landowners buying Irish land.[618] Estimates in 1852 showed that whilst Scots made up only 7% of total purchasers from the Encumbered Estates court, they disproportionately provided 30% of farmers buying land, as opposed to the other purchasing categories of gentry, merchants, and financial institutions. Furthermore, Scots provided 33% of total buyers for mid-value land in the £5000-10,000 bracket, and this bracket accounted for 88% of Scottish buyers. To put this in perspective, this value bracket accounted for 18% of total sales, with 60% of sales being land worth

[617] Peter Gray, "The Making of mid-Victorian Ireland? Political Economy and the memory of the Great Famine" in Gray (ed.) *Victoria's Ireland?*, p.156
[618] Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp.336-7

less than £5000, and 22% of sales comprising land worth in excess of £10,000.[619] Clearly, whilst Scots were a minority overall, they had a clearly distinctive profile as professional farmers looking for mid-sized holdings. The immediate post-Famine period saw Scots increasingly targeted as likely new tenants and farmers for such parcels of Irish land.

Peel's own ideas were given an authoritative mouthpiece by Scottish agriculturist James Caird. Caird's book *The Plantation Scheme, or The West of Ireland as a field for Investment* published in 1850 offered his views of the agricultural potential of those parts of Ireland he visited. Though nominally offering 'a new and untried field for the enterprise of the capitalist, landlord, and skilled farmer' from anywhere in Britain, Caird had a Scottish audience in mind:

> At the time of its announcement, the competition for farms in Scotland, and the consequent increase in rents, was progressing to such a degree as materially to lessen profits of the farmer; and the development of the Plantation Scheme was, therefore, hailed as possibly advantageous outlet for our agricultural capital and skills.[620]

Caird's 'our' was explicitly Scottish, and Scots, with their heralded 'capital and skills', were identified as the best candidates to exploit Ireland's potential. Caird's descriptions of Ireland reinforced several earlier Scottish views of Ireland and its people, juxtaposing almost voyeuristic descriptions of the land with scathing representations of the people. Thus, journeying from Dublin to Mullingar Caird enthuses over 'several extensive bogs- rich, black moss, such as we consider in Scotland most improvable' in the area around the Bog of Allen, whilst turning his nose up at the 'squalid miserable looking people'.[621] Caird demonstrated disdain for Irish farming, the land showed 'the unmistakable signs of the most wretched mismanagement', whilst '(t)he people employed in the fields seemed everywhere to take things easy. All the reapers had on that apparently indispensible garment, a long-

[619] William Bullock Webster, *Ireland Considered as a Field for Investment or Residence* (Dublin 1852), pp.76-7
[620] James Caird, *The Plantation Scheme, or The West of Ireland as a field for Investment* (Edinburgh 1850), p.1
[621] Ibid., pp.4-5

tailed frieze-coat, and they certainly did not look as if their work would keep them warm without it.'[622] Caird contrasted this with the experience of Irish labourers in Scotland:

> Who ever saw a harvest-field in Scotland, or a hay-field, with the men working in long-tailed coats? There, an Irishman strips to his work in harvest, and does it well. Here, the frog-like appearance of the men, with the tails of their coats jerking behind them, as they bend to their work, presents a striking contrast to the conduct of the same men when on the other side of the Channel, under proper superintendence, and with the stimulus of good wages.[623]

The perceived link between improvement of the land and of people was again evident. Caird argued that Scottish management could not only help maximise the produce and potential of Irish farms, but help the Irishman to better himself. Scots interested in Ireland's land and agriculture assumed this seemingly self-evident link, and that is why so many accounts nominally concerning the potential for improvement of Irish land went to great lengths to describe the associated condition of the Irish people. Caird's damning verdict on the Irish resulted less from outright hostility but from the application of that same improving gaze that Irish land was subjected to. The principal motivation was not simply to attack the Irish but to appeal to the Scottish self-image of agricultural superiority and progress which was deemed to make them the ideal candidates to improve Ireland's land and its people in a manner which could buttress the unity of the United Kingdom.

The rhetorical status of Scotland as the pinnacle of high agriculture was obvious in Caird's writing, the description of Limerick as 'a beautiful rich county, capable, under good management, of as much productiveness as the best lands in East Lothian' is just one example of many using the Lothians and Scottish Borders as the standard that Ireland should aspire to.[624] Irish engagement with this discourse of Scottish agricultural expertise was also evident. Reviewing Caird's work, the *Freeman's Journal* declared it ' especially interesting in giving a Scotch farmer's impressions on farming', even if it was critical of the ideological purity of Caird and those like him, who 'always visit Ireland in a certain frame of mind, and any idea that will not bed itself

[622] Ibid., p.6
[623] Ibid., p.6
[624] Ibid., p.72

snugly into that frame finds no entrance.'[625] Similar writings during the early 1850s tended to play towards the Scottish self-conceived image as expert farmers and agriculturists. William Bullock Webster's *Ireland Considered as a Field for Investment or Residence* enthused that 'There is scarcely a county in Ireland where there were not some good farms to let... I would point out where there are many farms let to Scotchman who are doing well'.[626] Thomas Scott's *Ireland Estimated as a Field for Investment* used Scottish examples as proof of the returns Irish land could bring, praising the Rathmoyle farms of the Rait brothers in County Offaly, and how a Scottish mindset might improve Ireland: 'it is to be hoped that Irishmen themselves are now partaking of this dawning prosperity of their county; and that ere long, the proverbial prudence of Scotchmen will find its counterpart amongst them, in their willingness and well doing.'[627] Scott also explicitly opened his writing with the now familiar premise that economic improvement in Ireland could help buttress the unity of the UK, arguing that Scottish settlement in Ireland could act as 'the forerunner of good to all, by the dissolution of national difference, and the blending together of three nations into one great people.'[628]

Such grandiose predictions of the promise of Irish land were not always well received by Scots. The *Scotsman* endorsed the argument of the *North British Review* that Scots were 'now beginning to see that Ireland is not the El Dorado that was supposed.' [629] Whilst it was concluded that 'the Irish farmer must be better educated, and to him must Ireland mainly look for a better system of things', this did not represent a denial of Scottish ability and right to interfere and improve Ireland, but rather concern that Scots settlers were running too high a personal and financial risk in going to Ireland.[630] The failure of the 'new plantation' to live up to the hype and expectations generated even inspired works of fiction. One Scot, 'Virgilius Penman' wrote a satirical account of Scottish experiences in Ireland during the period entitled *Ballytubber; or, a Scottish settler in Ireland with advice to his countrymen*, published in 1857. Penman opens with a description of the supposed opportunity that post-Famine Ireland offered to Scots:

[625] *Freeman's Journal* 25 January, p.2
[626] Webster, *Ireland Considered as a Field for Investment*, p.108
[627] Scott, *Ireland Estimated*, pp.15, 29
[628] Ibid. p. viii
[629] *Scotsman* 29 September 1852 p.4
[630] *Scotsman* 29 September 1852 p.4

> Thou hast doubtless, my respected countryman, heard of the *golden fleece*, which, through the stroke of a newly invented disenchanting rod (*malleus*, so termed by the learned of the Court of Encumbered Estates in our capital), has recently been discovered within the fertile plains of the Emerald Isle, and the tidings thereof having reached thy distant shores, would verily draw you hither.[631]

Penman quickly goes on to dispel the idea by declaring there to be 'more noise than wool' to be found in Ireland. The first section of the book sees Penman talking his reader through the process of trying to acquire and improve a farm in Ireland. Throughout Penman continues to mix classical analogies, his typical Scot becoming a Hercules struggling with Irish 'dragons', with his descriptions of the Irish, the land itself, and comments upon Scottish habits and character. It is worthwhile exploring how these issues are dealt with in *Ballytubber* as the recurrence of the same ideas and themes in literature as in the would-be academic texts of Caird and others helps to demonstrate how the experiences of Scots on Irish land during the time came to be universally understood and perceived. Penman's description of the process by which a Scot might attempt to acquire an Irish holding reflect the theoretical ideal of the new plantation whilst also adding in descriptions which demonstrate its practical flaws. Arriving in Ireland the Scottish capitalist is met by '(a) country bare and prostrate, in the hands of a community of unskilful pauper-tenants, dotted over with unsightly cabins, devoid of pastoral grace or rural comfort… and his senses sicken at beholding, as he passes onward, only edition after edition of the same sorrowful picture.'[632] Penman contrasts the advertised state of many Irish properties designed to lure the Scottish purchaser with the promise of good neighbourhoods and Protestant schools and churches to the reality of 'a few wretched clay huts huddled together… containing a number of cut-throat looking inhabitants.'[633] On visits to farms Penman's Scot is met by a land agent, who complains of the number of Scots arriving in Ireland as 'mere adventurers', and a landlord who tells the Scot of how land agents were suspicious of

[631] 'Virgilius Penman', *Ballytubber; or, a Scottish settler in Ireland with advice to his countrymen* (London 1857), pp.1-2
[632] Ibid., p.28
[633] Ibid., pp.37, 54-6

Scottish tenants as 'too independent and knowing for them'.[634] If a Scot should find a suitable farm Penman goes onto warn him of how he will be treated:

> (R)emoved beyond the pale of civilisation, and surrounded by a half-lawless, pauper community, in which you can find neither friendship nor society, but, on the contrary, are regarded, nay, religiously looked upon by three-fourths of the people, as a heretical intruder upon the fold of the Faithful, consequently as fair game to be robbed and pillaged in every conceivable manner.[635]

The contrast between Irish and Scottish attitudes to law and property was also highlighted, warning that 'in many of those localities the laws, to a certain extent, are inoperative, and exist merely in name', and pointing to the certainty of the native Irish in 'their rights to receive and to share as natives of the soil its produce with you.'[636] This recognition of a separate Irish understanding of the law and nature of land ownership was reflected in one of the few speaking roles given to a rural Irish labourer who tells his employer the Scottish 'Hercules' 'to the devil with your rules, we'll work by the rules of the country and no other'.[637] On leaving the story of his fictional Scottish farmer, now established in Ireland, with the 'hope and confidence that thou wilt sustain the name of Scotland by example to the natives here in husbandry', Penman offers a direct criticism of the policy of the 'new plantation' and its advocates:

> Parties interested in letting farms, and journals advocating the policy of infusing into such localities Scotch capital and Scotch families, will probably raise a hue and cry against such sentiments; but I hold it to be criminal, in a high degree, to sacrifice a single unsuspecting family on the ground of policy, or for individual interest – ay and for a bootless purpose; for nothing less than a *colony* of farmers, with labourers, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., is calculated to effect permanently any sound or agricultural change in these semi-barbarous districts.[638]

Penman's rhetoric of the 'sacrifice' of Scots urged to take land in Ireland without proper foreknowledge of the conditions echoed the growing concerns about the safety and

[634] Ibid., pp. 57-9
[635] Ibid., p.64
[636] Ibid., p.64
[637] Ibid., p.81
[638] Ibid., p.65

wellbeing of Scots farmers in the country. The placing of the safety of Scottish families over the potential economic and social improvement of Ireland perhaps illustrates the presence of a definite sense of hierarchy between the Scots and Irish within the union state; it was not worth risking Scots for the chance of bettering the Irish. Penman's work reiterates some of the themes already discussed, the apparent violence of the Irish people, scathing descriptions of their agricultural efforts, and the endurance of traditional and customary understandings of land holding over the written law of the British state. Penman also offers indirectly an *apologia* for the failure of Scottish efforts, firstly in the inherent nature of the Irish, but also in the apparent jealousy of Irish land agents, supposedly reluctant to let to Scots because the Scots were too good at agriculture and would show the agents up. Finally, Penman also offers a glimpse of how Scottish activity in Ireland was viewed in the context of Scottish national character, with the awareness that the Scottish farmer in Ireland would be representing his country in his endeavours. That these issues should feature in contemporary fiction perhaps demonstrates that the discourses of Scottish agricultural expertise and its relevance to Ireland had a resonance beyond the elite policy making discourse of Caird and others.

If Scottish enthusiasm for taking on Irish land was diminishing by the late 1850s, then Thomas Miller intended his work *The Agricultural and Social State of Ireland in 1858* to remedy this. Miller had been awarded the rights of holding and supplying documents and information relating to those Irish estates being sold through the Encumbered Estates Commission to prospective purchasers. From his offices in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, Miller held the only copies of such information outside of London and Dublin, effectively giving him a monopoly on Scottish purchases of land in Ireland.[639] Miller, although in practice an estate agent, clearly found it beneficial to his work considering the circles in which he moved to be a member of both the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland and the Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland. His work, though effectively an extended advert for Irish land and the suitability of Scots to farm it, is an important reflection of the dominant ideas and discourses around Scottish agriculture and is valuable evidence of their application in an Irish context.

[639] Thomas Miller, *The Agricultural and Social State of Ireland in 1858* (London 1858), p.7

Miller explicitly appealed to the Scottish sense of agricultural competence, stating that 756 settlers had acquired lands through his offices and that 660 of these were Scots, who had 'been much sought for by many of the landed proprietors, who freely gave them leases for thirty-one years at such low rents, compared with rents in Scotland, as to hold out every inducement for their settlement in Ireland.'[640] The appeal to a strictly Scottish prospective purchaser became ever more apparent as Miller praised the Scots and highlighted their successes in Ireland:

> Scotch farmers have unhesitatingly placed themselves and their families on the soil of Ireland, and have pushed their way into every part of the country and I am glad to say their numbers are daily increasing.[641]

His analysis of the various parts of Ireland was interspersed with Scottish success stories, from the 'very superior Scotch farmers' he knows in County Mayo, to the 'remarkably intelligent Scotch farmer' who in just one year produced 'the largest and heaviest crop' in his county from soil that was all but exhausted by previous Irish use.[642] Once again the political and cultural links of agricultural improvement were apparent, Miller argued that the flow of Scotch farmers into Ireland 'unites the sister kingdoms more closely together' and that Scottish farmers, paying good wages, had benefitted the Irishman, rendering 'essential service... in ameliorating his condition.'[643] Scotland was again the barometer of success, the success of Scots in Leinster was apparent as 'the country around has been very much improved, and now assumes the appearance of a well-cultivated Scotch district.'[644]Miller sought to reassure Scots that Ireland was a safe place, 'peace, contentment and happiness prevailed through the length and breadth of Ireland', and that those Scots in Ireland had settled quickly and easily: 'They like the country, the climate, and the people; and the general feeling is that Ireland is a real home to them and a garden for agriculturists.'[645] Miller's work illustrated once again the key themes of the discourse of Scots agriculture in Ireland: the superior ability of Scots to maximise the potential of Irish land and people, the use of Scottish standards as those to aspire to, and the link between improved Irish

[640] Ibid., p.8
[641] Ibid., p.9
[642] Ibid., pp.15-16
[643] Ibid., pp.10, 21
[644] Ibid., p.14
[645] Ibid., p.30

agriculture and an improvement of the Irish character, all contributing to Irish reconciliation with union.

Miller also included over fifty letters he had received from Britons in Ireland advocating Ireland as a place suitable for profitable farming, forty of these letters were from Scots. Responses to a request he had sent to those Britons he knew of in Ireland, Miller claimed to have received one hundred and seventy letters and that 'with the exception of eight or nine' they were all 'most favourable to the country, the peasantry, and the general demeanour of the people.'[646] Letters were published from Scottish farmers and land stewards or managers, who had lived in Ireland for varying lengths of time, from as little as two years to over forty years. Although generally favourable, most opinions concerning the Irish themselves follow the formula laid out in Miller's circular in which he had asked if the Irish were 'civil and obliging', a phrase which was parroted with minor variations by the respondents. Looking beyond this, however, some clear nuances emerge in the views of Scots in Ireland. One Scotsman in County Dublin enthused that 'I have invariably found that the fact of my being a Scotchman operated in my favour in a manner highly creditable to the Irish character.' This generous depiction of the Irish was however qualified by later remarks: 'if they are treated with fairness and equity they are not only grateful, but capable of becoming able and expert servants and labourers', clearly a favourable description of the Irish did not necessarily amount to an acceptance of their equality.[647] Other respondents echoed these sentiments, one Aberdeenshire farmer described those Irish he encountered farming in County Wexford as 'generally obliging, civil, and quiet, and when properly looked over and managed, they are good workmen.'[648]A Scot in his sixth year in Ireland offered a similarly double-edged praise of Irish work ethic: 'they are generally good work-people, very easily learned anything... but forgetful and careless if not steadily followed after.'[649] A Mid-Lothian man with fourteen years' experience farming in County Monagahan felt that the Irish made good workers 'under proper management'.[650] A farmer from Perthshire operating in County Tyrone agreed that 'I have found them quiet and peaceable when properly managed.'[651] Clearly praise for

[646] Ibid., pp.10-11
[647] Ibid., p.31
[648] Ibid., p.43
[649] Ibid., p.44
[650] Ibid., p.68
[651] Ibid., p.69

the Irish often concealed more negative attitudes towards them, lauding their capabilities and potential whilst simultaneously limiting their role as workers and labourers who could be successful only under the right, invariably Scottish, leadership.

Of course, remedying alleged defects in the Irish character went hand in hand, or so it seemed to Scots farmers, with their role in improving agriculture in Ireland. A Scot farming in Limerick wrote that:

> The condition of the poor has much improved within the last few years, owing chiefly, I am egotistical enough to say, to the Scotch and English agriculturists settling amongst them, with capital and experience.[652]

The same author went on that by giving honest employment to the Irish 'you make them better men.'[653]That the betterment of the Irish was reliant on incoming Scots was a common assumption. A native of Kirkcudbright who had spent four years in Ireland argued that 'Wherever an Englishman or Scotchman has purchased lands, and given improvements by paying improvements for the same, the Irish better themselves'.[654] Whilst from County Tipperary an Edinburgh man argued that since his agricultural improvements he found 'the condition of the peasantry much ameliorated morally and physically.'[655] A Perthshire man in County Clare similarly documented 'a vast change for the better has taken place in their clothing and personal appearance, in fact, in this respect they have become quite respectable.'[656]Crucially, Scottish opinions on how the Irish people themselves might be improved were deeply rooted in British discourses on respectability, centring mainly on outward appearance and behaviour. Some were pessimistic however, a Berwickshire man in County Sligo accepting that 'there may be little prospect of changing the men for the better' and advocating improvement by the incoming Scot as 'the wealth of the country should not be allowed to be buried, as it is, in the hands of such men.'[657] There was, however, an undercurrent of acceptance that these Irish failings, as they were considered, were not completely the fault of the Irish people. One Scot felt that 'their poverty is nothing more than what would have resulted from the same system in Scotland', whilst another

[652] Ibid., p.49
[653] Ibid., p.49
[654] Ibid., p.53
[655] Ibid., p.53
[656] Ibid., p.46
[657] Ibid., pp.61-2

attributed Ireland's problems to 'the landed proprietors' who 'were themselves to blame in allowing such practices.'[658] Even such sympathetic analysis demonstrated a fundamental denial of the native Irish outlook on land as acceptable, advocating the ideas that the 'system' was wrong in the first place, or that the Irish people's faults were not corrected by their own upper classes. Miller's letters reveal much of the Scottish experience in Ireland, demonstrating how even positive views and experiences of the Irish came with subtle prejudices. If the Irish could be capable workers it required Scottish management, if the Irish could become 'better' people then they needed Scottish example to follow, and crucially that Ireland and its people needed to adopt Scottish practices on their land if any improvement was to be achieved at all.

Changing Attitudes and Popular Memory

These attitudes reflected the broader enlightenment intellectual ethos in which 'those not yet enlightened were either innocents or victims. None were damned, none beyond rescue.' What made the Anglo-Scottish enlightenment 'historically distinctive' was that it was committed to 'models of improvement', its modern thinkers 'thought not in terms of hopeless depravity but of problems to be settled. They prided themselves upon their benevolence and prized their power to bring improvement.'[659] Key to these assumptions were a basic underlying belief in a universal human condition in which all people of all societies had an equal potential. All were capable of reaching the enlightened ideal of civil commercial society, all that was required was education and example.[660] These values must be seen to underpin the Scottish discourse on Irish land and agriculture discussed thus far. First of all, there was no question that the Irish agricultural system was inferior, modern commercial agriculture could be shown to be more productive materially, and was, by extension, morally superior. However, there was also the ready acceptance that there was nothing inherent to the Irish condition that made commercial agriculture unobtainable, given proper education and example. It was a view of modernity which was both obstinately uniform but universally accessible. These assumptions were gradually eroded as the 1850s gave way to the 1860s and 70s. The 1870 Irish Land Act was a measure which was intended to give

[658] Ibid., pp.61, 65
[659] Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.363-82
[660] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society*, pp.203-4,

legal force to traditional and customary Irish conceptions of land tenure, and reflected several developments in British politics and intellectual culture.[661] Clive Dewey has identified how British discourse on Irish land was changing, universal ideas of traditional political economy were challenged by relativist historicist ideas which argued that Ireland should be governed according to its own stage of economic and social advancement, not by Britain's. Irish agrarian disorder was 'due to the existence of two conflicting systems of law', and peaceful land relations required the legal acceptance of Irish custom and tradition.[662] Twinned with these new consideration, the expansion of democratic participation in politics was creating increasing tensions between 'economic development' and 'liberal politics', but what if the people did not want to be 'improved'?[663] Not only in Ireland, but in the Scottish Highlands 'the intellectual climate was less hospitable to doctrinal political economy', and the growth of relativist solutions which treated the Irish and Highlander as historically separate and different reflected a growing recognition that 'the premature imposition of the laws of commercial society to societies properly dominated by status, custom and the communitarian could only lead to devastating social dislocation.'[664]The willingness to compromise strict political economy in deference to the wishes or concerns of the people, of Ireland or elsewhere, was a key marker of the brand of Gladstonian Liberalism which would eventually see the party committed to Irish Home Rule.[665] In the immediate context of Irish land, the debate over the 1870 Act produced many Scottish responses in which continued assumptions of modern agriculture's superiority were tempered by a growing recognition that it might be easier to allow the Irish their own traditional systems and customs. If on face value this new tolerance of Irish difference lessened tensions between them and the rest of Britain, it also marked a decisive step in marking out the Irish, particularly rural Catholics, as fundamentally different from the inhabitants of Britain.

James Caird, former advocate of the plantation scheme, once again visited Ireland in 1869 as debate over the proposed land legislation raged. Caird talked up the failures

[661] Steele, *Irish Land and British Politics*, pp.40-1
[662] Dewey, 'Celtic Agrarian legislation and the Celtic Revival', pp.31-5, 56
[663] Porter, *Enlightenment*, p.204
[664] Shaw, 'Land, people and nation', pp.311-2
[665] See Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism*, pp.51-62

of Irish agriculture, blaming the habits of the Irish farmer and unashamedly making the comparison with Scotland:

> Much may be learned by contrast. I passed in twelve hours from Ireland to the Lothians in Scotland. There I found the highest farming, the largest crops, the greatest production of corn and meat, the best wages, the highest rents, and the largest profits.[666]

Caird remained confident that the 'peace of Ireland, and the strength of a really united kingdom may be gained and consolidated' if the process of improving Irish farming was correctly persisted with.[667] However, Caird was now willing to tolerate some recognition of Irish customary rights in the hope this might 'facilitate what Ireland really required- extensive land improvements'.[668] Other Scots were less confident in their advocacy of improvement. George Campbell, a civil servant with experience of Indian land policy, found his own confidence in Scottish methods shaken:

> No man, however determined he may be in his opinion in favour of large farms, and however conclusively he may prove by the rules of political economy that it is impossible for any man to keep out of the poorhouse on such farms as the poorer Irish hold, can get over the fact that hundreds of these small farmers live happily and contentedly.[669]

Although he remained committed to modern commercial agriculture in theory, Campbell came to doubt that enforcing British standards on Ireland would necessarily be the best course, acknowledging that the Irish seemed to thrive under their own system. His changed opinion of the viability of Irish farming also resulted in a kinder view of the Irish people, Campbell admitted that:

> My Scotch prejudices were not in favour of the Irish character, and on the strength of what was told me I have said a good deal depreciatory, though not condemnatory, of the southern Irish. I must say however that the more one sees of them the more one likes them.[670]

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[666] James Caird, *The Irish Land Question* (London 1869), p.20
[667] Ibid., pp.31-32
[668] Peter Gray, 'Famine and Land in Ireland and India', p.197
[669] George Campbell, *The Irish Land* (London 1869), p.119
[670] Ibid., pp.119-121

Campbell acknowledged what he saw as positives in Irish society, his praise for the national schools and the 'healthy happy children' they produced meant that he could conclude that Ireland was 'not in all respects irretrievably bad.'[671] Campbell's opinions were welcomed in Ireland. By the 1860s, the failure of incoming Scottish, and English, farmers to stay the course was becoming clear, W.E. Vaughan has suggested that the 'belief that there were thousands of English and Scottish farmers ready to take vast tracts of Irish land was exaggerated', and that in the decade between 1851 and 1861 the increase in permanent English and Scots farmers was small.[672] In 1865 The *Irish Examiner* attempted to explain the failure and the withdrawal of British farmers from Ireland:

> Of all those who did come probably not five percent have remained... They were driven out by the rents. All their capital, all their skill, all the industrial energy for which the hard-headed Scots and the sturdy English are famous, would not enable them to pay for land in Ireland the sums which are squeezed out of thriftless, idle PADDY... They have departed, many of them leaving behind a large proportion of the capital they had hoped to augment here. [673]

Campbell's recognition of the unique Irish conditions was therefore to be welcomed, 'few strangers here ever made this country the subject of study with so much success as Mr Campbell.'[674] The fact that Campbell was Scottish was seen to lend his views even greater credibility:

> Scotland was always held up to us as the good boy of the nursery, while we were the *enfant terrible*; and Scotch agriculture and Scotch farming were supposed to offer one of the most powerful arguments to show that it was nothing in the laws that prevented Ireland from being as wonderous a cultivator of turnips and breeder of Ayrshires and employer of machinery as Scotland. We find, however, that one of the most intelligent and complete treatises on *The Irish Land* has just proceeded from the pen of a Scottish gentleman. He knows all about the thousand-acre fields in his native country, and the nineteen years leases; he is aware that farming amongst his countrymen is carried on

[671] Ibid., p.121
[672] W.E. Vaughan, *Landlord and Tennants in Mid-Victorian Ireland* (Oxford 1994), p.39
[673] *Irish Examiner* 8 November 1865, p.2
[674] *Irish Examiner* 27 August 1869, p.2

> with as large a capital and with nearly as much in the way of fly-wheels and pulleys and shafts as a cotton mill. Withal he has been able to appreciate the state of things here, and to comprehend that, different *in toto* as it is from what exists in his native country, it has to be met by a treatment of an entirely different character.[675]

Crucially, these passages accepted the discourse of Scottish agricultural expertise. The fact that a Scot should recognise the inherent differences between Scotland and Ireland was seen as conclusive proof of their existence. The argument was clear: if even the Scots should despair of working their agricultural improvements upon Ireland then perhaps that should be taken as a sign that it could not be done at all.

The notion of accepting the reality of Irish modes of farming had acquired other advocates. Peter MacLagan, MP for Linlithgowshire, despite criticising the 'great slovenliness' of Irish farming which was causing agricultural 'stagnation', did however acknowledge that perhaps Irish distinctiveness should be considered above the desire to maximise agricultural productivity:

> We must consider that we have a population attached to the cabins in which they were born, and particularly attached to the land on which they were reared... And, therefore, whatever our opinions may be on the most advantageous size of farms for countries in general, we must legislate for Ireland as we find it subdivided into thousands of small farms, with a reluctance, yea, even a determination, of the people not to give them up.[676]

This willingness to compromise the strict theory of improvement in favour of Irish conditions did not prevent MacLagan taking particular pride in Scots improving activities in Ireland. Reflecting upon Scots he had met on his tour he concluded that they were 'much respected by all those about them, whose farming is an example to the neighbourhood, and of whom their countrymen can be proud.'[677] The idea that Scottish activity in Ireland should be a matter of pride for Scots is one which found a precedent in Robert Graham's earlier writing. Clearly MacLagan assumed that his readers cared about how Scots in Ireland were representing Scotland and its

[675] Ibid., p.2
[676] Peter MacLagan, *Land Culture and Land Tenure in Ireland: The results of Observation during a recent tour in Ireland* (Edinburgh 1869), pp.7, 19
[677] Ibid, p.44

reputation for agriculture and took pride that these Scots were bringing progress to Ireland and its inhabitants. This point is further illustrated by MacLagan's obvious concern when told of Scots who were supposedly acting improperly:

> One day I was informed that in a particular district some Scotchmen had taken farms, had remained in them for some years, and then had gone away without paying any rent, and leaving a great deal of debt behind them. On making further inquiry to discover the cause of the failure and dishonourable conduct of these Scotchmen, it was a relief to me to find they were not Scotch but English men.[678]

MacLagan cared enough about the possible soiling of Scotland's reputation to investigate and notably he did not consider the fact that the men were English, and therefore British, to reflect badly upon himself. The Irish here seemed unconcerned about making the distinction between Scotch and English. If Scottish pride in their preeminent role as improvers in Ireland remained that should not detract from the growing sense that perhaps Irish methods best served the Irish situation, a confident enlightened universalism was slowly turning into a pessimistic acceptance of Irish difference.

This view found its counterpart on the Irish side. The peculiarly Scottish character of the post-Famine attempts at reconfiguring Irish agriculture had penetrated Irish society more broadly. In 1854 Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin and future cardinal, wrote to John Henry Newman, another future cardinal but then rector of the Catholic University, advising against the appointment of Scots to academic positions: 'I fear that it will not be prudent to bring in a Scotchman for the present. The Scotch are looked on by the people at large as their worst enemies and it is the policy of the gentry to introduce as many Scotch as possible in the country.'[679] Such contemporary awareness of Scottish plantation would leave a strong lasting impression upon the collective memory of Irish agriculture. Awareness of the failure of the post-Famine Scottish farmers and the lesson to be drawn from it seemed widespread within Irish farming circles during the 1870s. A meeting of the Limerick Farmers Club recorded:

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[678] Ibid., p.43

[679] Paul Cullen to John Henry Newman, 30 September 1854 in Peadar MacSuibhne, *Paul Cullen and his contemporaries, with their letters from 1820-1902, Volume II* (Naas 1962), p.170

(Mr Starkey) We all know that in this county a great many Scotch farmers came over and took land...Where are they now?

(Mr Finueane) They are gone

(Mr Starkey) I don't make these observations for the purpose of disparaging the Scotch farmers. If Scotchman have failed to keep land in Ireland there must be something to account for the failure, for Scotchmen are as industrious, intelligent, and hard-working as any people in the world.[680]

The secretary to the Cork Farmers Club also used the Scots to highlight the issue of high rents in Ireland:

(H)e had a great respect for Scotch gentleman. They were smart men... but while he admired them for their many good qualities, he was still of opinion that in a fair race for life, an Irishman was a match for a Scotchman any day (applause). He had often seen Irishmen cling to places where Scotchmen would have gone off (hear, hear).[681]

The skill of Scottish farmers was talked up as a means of demonstrating how different Irish conditions were. These ideas were frequently reproduced within the context of the developing debates on Irish land legislation, moved forward by two Royal Commissions examining the operation of the 1870 Act (and later amendments) reporting in 1881 and 1887, which respectively took the names of their chairing peers, Bessborough and Cowper. Owen Corgan, a farmer from Kildare described the conditions which had emerged near his own farm: 'I see the Scotchmen who were very well to do, having big tillage farms in the neighbourhood of Athy, and they have gone wonderfully down, and they were not bad farmers.'[682] Henry Pringle, reflecting on conditions in the North of Ireland attempted to explain the reasons for Scottish failure:

In the County Tyrone especially, and in Monaghan, the Scotch farmers who came over about 1850 did not succeed in establishing themselves and becoming successful, owing, I think, perhaps to the fact, in the first instance, that it was the worst farms which were vacant. They took them at what appeared

[680] *Irish Examiner* 8 May 1876, p.3
[681] *Irish Examiner* 3 March 1879, p.3
[682] *Report of the Royal Commission on the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, and the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885*, HC (1887) [4869] (hereafter referred to as Cowper Commission), p.805

> to be a moderate rent, but it proved too high… not one has remained who has succeeded. The climate also was damper than the Scotch climate and did not suit their system of farming.[683]

Again, these anecdotes contained no overt criticism of Scottish methods or the individual farmers, indeed their skills were acknowledged, rather their failure was simply evidence of the uniquely challenging Irish conditions. The Irish were accepting Scottish claims to agricultural expertise, but not for the purpose of adopting Scottish methods, but increasingly as a means of emphasising how complete was the failure of attempts to impose external solutions to Irish land issues.

William O'Connor Morris, an Anglo-Irish barrister, had been employed as a special correspondent to *The Times* and was tasked with giving his analysis on Irish land issues in the lead up to the act of 1870. Morris's description of improved land in Ireland seemed at first glance approving as he enthused how 'capital and science transformed these great tracts by degrees as if by magic.'[684] However his view is tinged throughout with regret that something is being lost:

> I missed the smoke of frequent house-top; and as my eye rested on the scanty cottages which here and there only dotted the rich expanse, I could not help thinking that this form of society had, like all human things, its imperfect side.... a lavish out-lay of capital has suddenly raised a noble monument of cultivation of the most perfect kind, and has produced a splendid mode of extensive farming. Yet you feel that this is an exotic growth, and that it is not without its drawbacks in its severance of the population from the soil.[685]

The reflection that such measures were unnatural in Ireland and the obvious sadness resulting from disconnecting land and people demonstrates that perhaps there was a fundamental cultural difference in outlook between Irish and British notions of farming. That this statement came from a British-educated Irishman and not a smallholding peasant or labourer more strongly suggests that this was a distinctively Irish outlook. Morris defended the farming of Irish smallholders, 'ambition should not mock this

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[683] *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870, and the acts amending the same*, HC (1881), [c.2779] (hereafter referred to as the Bessborough Commission), p.594
[684] William O'Connor Morris, *Letters on the Land Question of Ireland* (London 1870), p.100
[685] Ibid., pp.100-1

humble toil', and was eager to argue that these Irish 'were assuredly justified in their view to me, "that they could hold their own against any Scotchman".'[686]

The Scotsman in immediate question was Allan Pollock, a Scottish industrialist who had bought upwards of 30 000 acres in Galway under the Encumbered Estates Act, and who became to a great extent the embodiment of Scottish improvement. Thomas Miller greatly approved of Pollock's methods:

> Plans, skilfully matured, have been carried out with great vigour; no obstacle was suffered to interrupt them; ample funds were at command for every purpose; thousands of labourers were employed at good wages, punctually paid; and an example shown of what can be affected on the Irish soil by an outlay of capital, directed by skill, prudence, and energy. [687]

Miller's enthusiasm was matched by others, and Pollock's Lismany estate was frequently visited. Comment centred on the methods by which Pollock had consolidated his land and dealt with his tenants. George Campbell argued that because Pollock had bought out his tenants, as opposed to simply evicting them, he was able to thrive in a 'zone of violence, among a friendly and contented people.'[688] Another visitor to Lismany agreed that 'Mr Pollock did not, however ruthlessly evict any of these poor tenants. He paid them all most liberally and thus obtained possession of the land without incurring their ill will.' The tenants were now 'beginning to understand the decencies and comforts of the civilised life' as Pollock's employees.[689] William O'Connnor Morris, however, recognised that whether bought out or evicted the separation of the tenants from their land was 'a process, not ungentle indeed, yet rather painful', whist Peter MacLagan emphasised the continuing difficulties Pollock faced: 'threatening letters were sent… Warning after warning was given him that he was to be shot'.[690] As on the Murray estates in Donegal in the 1840s, Irish tenants did not always share their Scottish landlord's view that the legal niceties of buying out a tenant's lease was fair compensation for the cultural impact of their removal from ancestral holdings.

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[686] Ibid., pp.101-2
[687] Miller, *Agricultural and Social State of Ireland,* pp.12-13
[688] Campbell, *The Irish Land*, p.135
[689] Henry Coulter, *The West of Ireland: Its Existing Condition and Prospects* (Dublin 1862), p.17
[690] O'Connor Morris, *Letters on the Land Question*, pp.99-100 ; MacLagan, *Land Culture and Land Tenure*, p.28

Beyond Pollock, the narrative of the Scots farmer in retreat was one which gained acceptance in contemporary debate. For long-term Scottish residents there continued to be dissatisfaction with both their fellow Irish tenants and the Irish landlord class. D.G. Ross, a Scottish grazier who had been in Ireland since 1860, gave testimony to the 1887 Cowper Commission outlining his observations of increasing drunkenness and violence amongst the Irish tenantry and labourers as a result of the ongoing land agitation.[691] Thomas Robertson, who by the time of his testimony to the Bessborough Commission in 1881 had spent thirty-four years in Ireland as farmer and agent, complained of the treatment his fellow Scots tenants had received from the Duke of Leinster. Robertson outlined in particular the case of a Scot named Duncan, who having turned what was previously deemed wasteland into a productive tillage farm, was then served with an unjustifiable increase in rent, Robertson concluded bitterly 'that is the treatment that one of the Duke's imported Scotch tenants have received form the Duke in return for the example shown in the way of good farming'.[692] The exact details of this case were disputed by the Duke's agent in later testimony, but the theme of Scots developing previously unproductive land only to then be presented with unmanageable rent hikes was a recurring one.[693] Andrew Derham, an Irish farmer from County Dublin, related the story of his Scottish neighbour, a Mr Nelson 'a good farmer, and a Scotchman', who having revived the fortunes of a failing farm 'was forced to leave it.' In this case, blame was placed upon the unscrupulous behaviour of the landlord Sir Charles Domville.[694] Six years later, in evidence given to the Cowper Commission, a Maurice Butterly, a tenant farmer in the county outlined the narrative of the estate in full:

> They were a happy, prosperous, and comfortable tenantry; but the moment Sir Charles Domville got possession of the estate in 1870 every tenant whose lease ran out had his rent raised… In fact, he created a new tenantry, and sent the old tenants about their business… One young man, named Nelson, who came from Scotland and took a large farm of 126 acres adjoining the demesne – a more industrious man I never saw – he introduced all the most improved machinery, Clydesdale horses, and everything pertaining to high-class farming.

[691] Cowper Commission, p.856
[692] Bessborough Commission, pp.51-2
[693] Bessborough Commission, p.1328
[694] Bessborough Commission, p.92

> Well, he commenced a large system of tillage-farming, and went on until 1879, and met his first crash in 1880. He was not able to pay his rent and applied for an abatement, but Sir Charles would not consider such a thing. A petition was even got up by the farmers of the district, but he would not hear of it. The following year he was cleared out for non-payment of rent, and went back to his own country penniless, although he brought a large capital with him to this country.[695]

This account of the Compton-Domville estate encapsulates several themes which have been discussed: the removal of Irish tenants to make room for imported Scots; the features associated with Scottish 'high' farming; and the eventual financially ruinous failure of the Scot, in spite of his readily acknowledged ability, as a result of uniquely Irish conditions, in this case the supposed greed of the Irish landlord class. Perhaps it was increasing exposure to similar circumstances among the remaining Scots tenants in the wake of the agricultural depressions of the 1880s which prompted one witness to the Bessborough Commission, arguing for increased tenant rights with respect to landlords in Ireland, to highlight support for his position with the fact that 'the feeling has extended to Scotchmen too.'[696] Again, the purpose of this assertion was twofold. The use of the Scot as a convert to tenant rights sought to demonstrate the growing opinion in favour of such a move, but also played upon assumptions of the Scots as traditional defenders of a stricter legal understanding of landlord-tenant relations: if even they saw the need for redefined tenant rights then it must be necessary.

Whatever the experience and opinions of those Scots still resident in Ireland by the 1880s, popular memory of their presence was often hostile and deeply rooted, focussing on the narratives of clearance and usurpation, not only in terms of landlords like Pollock but of the complicity of Scots who took up tenancies on previously cleared land. During the 1890s and 1900s land agitation in Ireland had considerably revived under the auspices of the United Irish League founded by William O'Brien in 1898. The rhetoric of O'Brien and other nationalists incorporated a distinct and explicit role for the Scot, 'Scotch graziers' were often identified as the villains in the story of Irish land. Arguing for land to be redistributed from landlords to tenantry O'Brien highlighted

[695] Cowper Commission, p.826
[696] Bessborough Commission, p.134

the situation in parts of Mayo where there existed 'on one side of the road, a population cribbed, cabined, and confined, in untold misery for want of land; and on the other side of the road hundreds of green acres of evicted lands in the hands of a Scotch grazier, lands enough to provide tidy farms for a population thrice increased.'[697] O'Brien drew attention both to the nature of Scottish acquisition of the land but also upon Scottish failure to work it successfully:

> (A) cottier population squatted on a few acres of bogs and rocks, (Mayo) contains at least 200,000 acres of excellent land, from which these people or their fathers were extirpated in the great famine clearances of 1848-52. These evicted tracts, not being in the nature of permanent pasture but of reclaimed soil requiring mixed tillage to keep it in heart, have not answered the purpose of the evictors, which was to plant them with Scotch graziers. The Scotch graziers have long ago given the speculation up as commercially hopeless.[698]

Clearly O'Brien was attempting to justify land reform not only upon the perceived injustice of tenant removal from their land but also upon the fact that the land in question was clearly unfit for commercial farming if the Scots could not make it work. The Scots had achieved a specific place within the rhetoric of the Irish land question, not merely as villains responsible for clearances, but also as the key evidence of the inability for tracts of Irish land to serve any other need but the subsistence of the native population. This was a rhetoric which simultaneously acknowledged the abilities and skills of Scottish farmers whilst rejecting the reasoning behind their methods and the morality of the means employed to achieve them.

As a major example, the 'Pollock clearances' featured considerably in evidence given to the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland, published in 1907. John Fitzgibbon, Irish Parliamentary Party MP and leading member of the United Irish League gave evidence:

> I can remember myself the Pollock clearances, where, in one district, comprising only a portion of his estate, over 1,100 families were evicted, and not for non-payment of rent but simply for the purpose of consolidating the holdings and turning them into vast grass ranches.... he took very good care to

[697] *Mayo News* 27 June 1896, p.8
[698] *Mayo News* 5 March 1898 p.8

> erase all trace. He used the stone of the houses for building walls, and he introduced a system of agriculture. He was a Scotchman, and he thought he was coming over, from his point of view, as a benefactor.[699]

Awareness of such events was clearly part of an Irish political culture which needed popular memories of injustice to justify contemporary agrarian agitation. Fitzgibbon at least acknowledged that Pollock, from his own point of view, considered himself to be helping the Irish. Others were not so generous. Reverend Alfred Joseph Pelly gave evidence that 'no sooner did Mr Pollock acquire ownership of the land than he inaugurated the most sweeping and heartless campaign of eviction that ever swept a countryside bare.'[700] Pelly also argued that the land was not suitable for improvement and was better used to support people disdaining 'high scientific farming under Scotch management' and concluding that 'the Scotch managers failed to make it pay'.[701] Here again was a rejection not just of Pollock's alleged methods of clearing the land but of the entire Scottish conception of agriculture. John Ward, of Galway County Council, offered his appraisal of events:

> When (Pollock) came over from Scotland to purchase this estate, he found it a thickly-populated country covered with happy homesteads. What is it now? A dreary wilderness in which as the eye can reach, not a single human being, not the vestige of a human habitation, except a herd's house is discernible.[702]

These vivid popular memories of Scottish acquisition and improvement of Irish land reflect the clash between the differing emphasis placed on agriculture for profit and the land as a place for people to live. Ward's testimony also crucially acknowledges that Pollock did indeed buy out his tenants, saying that 'they were in some manner bribed by getting high process for their little articles to give up their homes, which does not mitigate the crime one iota.'[703] Clearly a fundamental difference in outlook existed between Scots like Pollock, who would have seen buying the tenants out as acceptable, and the Irish like Ward, who felt that 'a sentence of eviction from the land (in a state of society in which without the land it is impossible to support life) is

[699] *Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland. Appendix to the Fifth Report. Minutes of Evidence*, HC (1907) [3630] xxxvi.261, p.141
[700] Ibid., p.166
[701] Ibid., p.167
[702] Ibid., p.186
[703] Ibid., p.187

tantamount to a sentence of slow but certain execution; and hence it is very difficult to distinguish in thought between the system of wholesale clearances that prevailed in these two counties and a system of wholesale murder.'[704] As a large landowner, Pollock seems to have been accepted by the local gentry, taking an active part in hunts and shooting meetings, and marrying his son into the local nobility.[705] However removal of their tenants in the 1850s seems to have cast a shadow even into Irish high society. Allan's son, John Pollock, was forced to defend his appointment as Master of the Kildare Hounds. One member objected because he felt that if Pollock got the job 'a number of local men would be thrown out of employment', whilst another expressed preference for 'a local man' over 'an importation'. The account of Pollock's defence is interesting:

> Mr Pollock came before the Council, and gave a direct denial to the statement that he or his family had ever been evictors. His father hunted the Galway Hounds, and he hunted them afterwards, and he was in the Waterford Hounds for three years.[706]

Given that no mention of eviction was made in the article previously, it is interesting that Pollock should open thus if this was not implicitly the reason for opposition towards him. The motion to reconsider his appointment was carried. For most Scots however, the dangers of settling in Ireland were much graver than the loss of social status.

Scots and Agrarian Violence

John Price, agent to the Marquess of Landsdowne's, estates related to the Devon Commission how hiring a Scots agriculturist to oversee improvements had caused friction with the Irish tenants. Mr McClitchie, 'a very clever Scotch agriculturist', was hired in January 1843 to supervise drainage on the estate, but by June McClitchie had written saying that he would be leaving the estate as 'I saw no prospect of getting my family settled comfortably here, and as my wife is fretting very much for me to go home.' Not wishing to lose their agriculturist, a bargain was struck whereby McClitchie would stay if provided with a furnished house and a better salary. McClitchie later received a threatening note requesting that he 'quit this country and go home, and not

[704] Ibid., p.187
[705] *Irish Times* 22 April 1873, p.5
[706] *Irish Times* 5 April 1906, p.7

be the cause of destroying old honest tenants by your making of drains... let no man persuade you to go against this letter, for, by God! If you do not quit this country you will be shot as dead as a dog in the noon-day light'.[707] McClitchie left the estate in February 1844, and his Scottish successor Mr Hutchinson lasted only until June before leaving, he was replaced by an Irishman 'who has had considerable experience under a Scotch steward, and who is perfectly competent to superintend the work.'[708] These events demonstrated the challenges facing Scots agriculturists and stewards taking work in Ireland. McClitchie's Scottishness, or less specifically his outsider status, did however seem to offer him a deal of protection, the threats offered him the chance of going home, 'we do not wish to injure you. You can get employment in another country as well as here'. Whereas Irish agent John Price, branded an 'orange tory', was threatened unequivocally with murder.[709] It is important to remember that Scots were often arriving into already existing local conflicts between landlords and large farmers on one side and small farmers and labourers on the other. Pre-Famine Ireland was 'a remarkably violent country' and one where the 'rural people engaged in violence... in the name of traditional rights... to deny any of these rights was often regarded as a violation of unwritten laws'. For Irish labourers and small-holders violence against 'progressive' and 'improving' landlords, and their Scottish employees, was part of a 'desperate struggle to preserve the very means of their existence.'[710] Thus Paul E W Roberts identified the struggle between Caravats and Shanavests during the 1800s and 1810s as one which was 'more than an economic struggle' but 'the clash of two different moral and cultural worlds'.[711] M.R. Beames has identified that the willingness to use lethal force in defence of customary land rights was a crucial distinguishing factor between Ireland and mainland Britain in pre-Famine Ireland. Beames identifies the qualities of those victims of agrarian assassinations across three categories: landlords; factors and employees and tenant farmers. Targeted landlords were typified by 'an improving commercial attitude towards their land, sometimes involving a mercantile background.' Employees killed were those who carried out unpopular orders too enthusiastically or those who 'contravened the customary practices of the peasant community.' Finally, tenant farmers were most often at risk over issues

[707] Devon Commission Part 3, pp.718-719
[708] Ibid., p.721
[709] Ibid., p.719
[710] Clark, *The Social Origins of the Irish Land War*, pp.69-70
[711] Roberts, 'Caravats and Shanavests', p.72

surrounding land ownership, especially in cases 'where previous tenants had been evicted'.[712] The violent reaction to Scots throughout the period must be seen in this tradition of agrarian violence in defence of collective traditional rights of land ownership. Crucially, if improving landlords and agents, and farmers brought in to occupy evicted lands were indeed the principle targets for lethal reprisals then incoming Scots might be assumed to be frequent victims of such practices. However, the repeated experience of such Scots was that of being given a chance, as outsiders, to leave before facing sanction for their actions.

On the Gweedore estate in Donegal, the importation of Scottish shepherds and their flocks in the 1850s caused similar tensions. Local landowners allowed Scottish shepherds to use large tracts of untenanted mountain land, this angered the tenantry who felt that they had been 'at liberty to put any beast they had upon them, till the Scotchmen came and took it away from them over their heads.'[713] The idea that the Scots had in some way taken or stolen the land was frequently repeated, in spite of the fact that no one had previously agreed any legal right to the land and that it had been the landlords who had invited the Scots onto it. Breandán Mac Suibhe argues that the Irish tenants 'did not perceive the land to be the private property of any individual', again opposing conceptions of land and legal right exposed cultural differences between Scots and Irish.[714] Landlords John Woodhouse, related how he had leased land to the Aberdonian Joseph Wright to graze sheep upon. Hostility towards the Scots and their sheep turned to violence, one of Wright's Scottish shepherds was assaulted in December 1856:

> (H)is house was attacked, and they robbed him of his watch, and ordered him to leave the country, and warned that they would let no more of his countrymen come there... Mr Wright wrote to me then that he would surrender the place... I

[712] M.R. Beames 'Rural Conflict in Pre-Famine Ireland: Peasant Assassinations in Tipperary, 1837-1847' in C.H.E. Philpin (ed.), *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland* (Cambridge 1987), pp.264-283

[713] *Report from the Select Committee on Destitution (Gweedore and Cloughaneely); together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix, and index*, HC (1857-58) (412) xiii.89, p.5

[714] Breandán Mac Suibhe, 'Agrarian Improvement and Social Unrest: Lord George hill and the Gaoth Dobhaire Sheep War 1856-1860' in William Noland and Liam Ronayne (eds.) *Donegal History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin 1995), p.575

> thought he should have fought the battle a little longer; but he thought he was not safe.[715]

The local constable, William Young, related another attack on a Scottish shepherd, Robert Cowan, on the Hill estate in March 1857:

> (A)n armed party attacked his house in the middle of the night; they broke open his door, and robbed him of his firearms and some of his furniture, and took away provisions... He was ordered to go out of the country... if not they would return and have his wife.[716]

The Scottishness of the shepherd was again key to his treatment, as an outsider he was not welcome, but that also entitled him to the chance of going home to avoid further violence. Equally telling was the landlord's remark that Wright should have 'fought the battle a little longer', clearly he saw such intimidation as another natural part of Irish life that needed to be overcome. William Hunter, Wright's replacement who already grazed sheep on the neighbouring Hill estate, gave evidence to parliament concerning violence committed towards his sheep. One of his rams had 'string tied round his testicle, to prevent him from getting lambs', he found 'several of my sheep in bog-holes with their heads cut off', and others which had had their legs tied together or mutilated in various other ways.[717] Interestingly it was always the Scottish Cheviot sheep of all the grazing breeds which were found to have been attacked. The local catholic priests sought to defend their parishioners, 'innocent Celts', from the accusations of violence towards the shepherds and their sheep, sending an appeal to be published in the papers which attributed the lost sheep to 'the Scotch shepherds' who 'were supinely negligent in the duties of their calling.'[718] Ideas of racial and national solidarity clearly came into play, and the Scots when it came down to it were to be considered foreign.

The methods of intimidation seen in Gweedore recurred on the nearby Donegal estate of John George Adair. In April 1861, Adair proceeded to evict over two hundred people from eleven thousand acres of 'virtually barren' land, supposedly for their part in aiding or concealing the murderer of Adair's Scottish steward James Murray, 'the fairies

[715] Ibid., p.239
[716] Ibid., p.374
[717] Ibid, pp.251, 254
[718] Ibid., pp.392-93

came out of the rocks and killed him' was the oft-repeated tenant explanation for his death.[719] Murray was one of a number of Scots agents and Scots shepherds that had been brought to the estate and whose use of the land for sheep farming, along with thuggish methods of protecting their flocks and rights, had upset the Irish tenants. Tensions were 'exacerbated by the character of the shepherds' who 'combined strict ideas about the rights of property with loose notions of how to protect them.'[720] Once again differing outlooks on the purpose and usage of the land exposed the gap between Scottish and Irish mindsets. W.E. Vaughan lends credence to an alternative explanation for Murray's death which points to an affair between his wife and another Scottish shepherd, who arranged Murray's death confident it could be passed off as the work of disgruntled tenantry.[721] However, the murder of another Scot, Adam Grierson in April 1863 by an evicted tenant seems to suggest that the Irish were willing and able to commit acts of violence towards the perceived intruders.[722] Violence towards Scots present in Ireland seemed to be a common theme where the Scots and their activities disrupted pre-existing society. The idea of Scottish employees as facilitators of enduring landlord oppression of the native tenantry was one which persisted. Charles Boycott, whose name became eponymous of targeted ostracization by Irish tenants of their landlords or peers deemed to be in breach of the assumed norms and obligations of land ownership, outlined one particular incident to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the workings of the 1870 Land Act. Sitting in 1881, in the midst of the developing Land War in Ireland, Boycott told the commissioners of a neighbour of his:

> A Scotchman, who has acted for twenty-five or twenty-six years for Denis Brown, who lives abroad himself, got a threatening notice and a coffin on his door, the other day, to tell him to leave it – that if he was not there as a Scotchman, the owner could not manage himself, and no Irishman would do it for him, and that they would have it for themselves.[723]

[719] W.E. Vaughan, *Sin, Sheep, and Scotsmen: John George Adair and the Derryveagh Evictions, 1861* (Belfast 1983), pp.11-15, 26
[720] Ibid., pp.20-1
[721] Ibid., pp.42-4
[722] Ibid., p.47
[723] Bessborough Commission, p.594

Again, the implication is that the Scot should take the chance to go home before the ultimate threat was enacted, and that without him, the landlord in question would have no choice but to give up the land to the Irish tenants.

Charlotte Houston recalled similar scenes during her life in Galway with her husband on their estate in the 1860s and 70s. Taking over a cattle ranch, the Houstons represented part of a wider trend towards grazing in western Ireland from the 1850s. David S. Jones has argued that:

> More than any other section of the community, ranchers were motivated by a sense of capitalist enterprise... Land was simply an instrument of monetary gain... the rancher generally lacked any sense of ancestral or customary ties to the land, and his economic behaviour was less constrained by the traditions of rural society.[724]

Clearly Scottish incomers like the Houstons were continuing to expose ideological divisions concerning the purpose and ownership of the land. The nature of the livestock trade was such that landlords and graziers frequently co-operated to enforce the 'eleven-month system' of leases which provided them with the economic flexibility of responding to price fluctuations, but left non-grazing tenants vulnerable when it was profitable to expand grazing areas. As a result graziers were 'strongly resented by the peasant population' and the Houstons served as a notable example.[725] William O'Brien frequently singled out the estate for criticism, in 1894 he complained of 'the amount of human suffering it took to form Captain Houston's cattle ranch - in tearing its old inhabitants up by the roots' and 'the townlands depopulated to make room for Captain Houston's kyloes and black-faced sheep'.[726] Once again, the presence of specifically Scottish livestock was highlighted. One land agitator in 1880 addressed a meeting asking his listeners to 'look around their native hills and they would see them desecrated by the sheep and the bullocks of the Scotch graziers, who, after forty-seven, got them over their heads.'[727] In 1908 one paper deplored the condition of 'the peasantry of the West, who by a modern adaptation of the policy of Cromwell, have been driven to the mountains in order that their little patches of land might be occupied

[724] David S Jones, 'The Cleavage between Graziers and Peasants in the land struggle 1890-1910', in Clark and Donnelly Jr (eds.) *Irish Peasants*, pp.377-8
[725] Ibid., pp.381, 399-401, 410-411
[726] *Freemans Journal,* 27 December 1894, p.5
[727] *Connaught Telegraph,* 24 July 1880, p.1

by Scotch bullocks and Scotch graziers.'[728] Alongside the continuing legal and moral rejection of Scottish right to the land, the extension of this hostility towards the animals themselves marks a further step of vilifying a distinctively Scottish presence on the Irish land. The legitimacy of Houston's possession of the land was once again challenged with reference to how it was acquired. William O'Brien addressed a United Irish League Meeting near the former Houston estates in 1899:

> There are men listening to me who can remember tens of thousands of acres swept bare of their populations by the crowbar brigade and the sheriff, in order to give sixteen miles of country to Houston, the Scotch grazier.[729]

Though the clearances were carried out before Houston took ownership of the land, as their main beneficiary he was still viewed as partly responsible. These feelings must go some way to explaining the violence that the Houstons and their staff experienced, 'the venturesome Scotch stranger had really thrust his hands into a hornet's nest.'[730] Charlotte Houston described how Inverness-shire shepherd Jamie McLeod succeeded in securing convictions against several prolific sheep rustlers, and how this resulted in the poisoning of six sheep dogs seemingly in an act of revenge on the part of the local Irish.[731] The solidarity of the Irish in looking out for one another was looked upon with disdain, 'I think myself justified in saying that the majority of the people take a positive pleasure in the mere act of concealing a crime, and thus defying laws which it is their nature (simply because they *are* laws) to hate.'[732] Houston's assessment may be partially right in that the Irish did not share the same values concerning land and property as the Houstons and their Scots enclave. Houston described a litany of actions against themselves and their Scottish employees: one grazier, John Shaw, left the country following gunshots fired into his house; bailiff James Hunter was shot dead; whilst another shepherd and his family were dragged from their house at night to witness the torture and killing of their sheep dog.[733]

Alexander Innis Shand touring Ireland in the 1880s argued that the Houstons were lucky that they had not arrived in Ireland before the emergence of the Land League,

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[728] *Ulster Herald,* 7 November 1908, p.5
[729] *Freemans Journal,* 27 March 1899, p.10
[730] Alexander Innis Shand, *Letters from the West of Ireland 1884* (Edinburgh 1885), p.112
[731] C. Houston, *Twenty Years in the Wild West, or, Life in Connaught* (Memphis 2012, first published London 1879), p.27
[732] Ibid., p.27
[733] Ibid., pp. 27-28, 45-6

'had he tried the venture after the Land League agitation, his life would not have been worth a day's purchase.'[734] Stephen Bull has pointed to the fact that agrarian agitation during the Land War of the 1880s was aimed at upholding the 'unwritten law' that Irish custom and tradition dictated should govern land ownership, Scots with a British mindset towards the legal position of landlords and tenants would have seemed obvious targets.[735] Land agent Samuel Hussey recalled the fate of one Scot named Cruikshank during the Land War:

> (A) number of disguised Nationalists entered Cruikshank's home at night. They gave him a frightful beating, even breaking a gun on his head, which was seriously injured. This was done in the presence of his wife and daughters, and of a young son... That was the settlement of the land question that suited the Nationalists, namely to cause the death of the head of the family, and to get the rest out of the country.[736]

On Cruikshank's death, Hussey and other surrounding Irish families raised £120 to help the family return to Scotland. Whilst this generosity should not be underestimated it should not be assumed that this represented disapproval of the outcome, the return of the Scots to their own land. Houston's conclusion that '*landlords* in Mayo did not strike me ever in the light of men marked out for slaughter' perhaps further hints at an explanation for the violence towards Scots in Ireland.[737] Scottish farmers, Scottish shepherds, and their livestock, offered the most accessible and visible representation to the nineteenth-century Irish of their land being exploited by outsiders. Liam Kennedy identified the ties which gave the native Irish shopkeeper-graziers a disproportionate influence within their local communities, including the credit they extended to small farmers, kinship networks, and their role as political organisers.[738] Isolated and alien Scots were less complicated targets for agitation and it was perhaps far easier to feel justified in intimidating these recent arrivals to 'go home' than to get rid of Irish landlords or neighbours. Even for longstanding Scottish families there was always some lingering awareness that the descendants of Scots remained Scots rather than

[734] Shand, *Letters from the West of Ireland*, p.112
[735] Stephen Bull 'Crowd activity during the Irish Land War 1879-90' in Jupp and Magennis (eds.) *Crowds in Ireland*, p.214
[736] Hussey, *Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent*, p.261/262
[737] Houston, *Twenty Years in the Wild West*, p.47
[738] Liam Kennedy, 'Farmers, Traders, and Agricultural Politics in Pre-Independence Ireland', in Clark and Donnelly Jr (eds.) *Irish Peasants*, pp.346-7, 359-361, 369

being accepted as Irish. In 1916 there was cattle driving on the estate of the Mathers family in the aftermath of Easter Week disputing the family's rights to the land, this was in spite of the fact that the original Scottish purchaser had acquired the land over sixty years ago.[739] This fitted into a wider pattern of Protestant experience during the revolutionary war in which 'long-standing resentment over landownership' came to the surface.[740] The Pollocks remained in Ireland following the creation of the Free State, although reports of sales of land and stocks suggest that the family was perhaps gearing up to exit the country.[741] But in an Ireland confronted with the outbreak of the Anglo-Irish War and descent into civil war, the comparatively small number of Scots scattered across Ireland must have seemed unimportant and peripheral to larger struggles.

Conclusion

The link between the state of Irish land and the Irish people was not new to the nineteenth century. English views of Ireland since the seventeenth century had exhibited views of Irish society which linked cultivation to civilization, and pointed to Ireland's apparent lack of sophisticated tillage as both the symptom of perceived Irish 'barbarity' and as evidence of the need for English occupation and control.[742] Richard Drayton has argued that 'the doctrine that its lands were either unoccupied or not efficiently used' figured prominently in justifications of the seventeenth-century plantations of Ireland, as well as in the wider context of British expansion in North America. 'The English and Scots undertook to reclaim the Irish wastes, and in the process redeem the barbarous Irish themselves.' Likewise, 'the application of science to agriculture' had been 'a powerful justification' for eventual union.[743] For Scots the following one hundred and twenty years offered a continuity of this theme. Scottish involvement in Irish land during the nineteenth century reveals much about the differing values and attitudes towards land and land ownership held by Scots and the Irish. For the Scots, their place in Ireland as improving farmers or land stewards

[739] *Weekly Irish Times,* 22 July 1916, p.4
[740] Ian D'Alton and Ida Milne, 'Introduction: Content and Context' in D'Alton and Milne (eds.), *Protestant and Irish*, p.13
[741] *Irish Times,* 7 October 1925, p.11; *Irish Times* 14 May 1927, p.8
[742] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Cranbury, NJ 2008), pp.62-8, 165-6
[743] Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (London 2000), pp.55, 123

reflected a confident identity as agricultural experts with an ideological imperative to better the Irish land and people. It also reflected a Scottish claim to wider effectiveness in one of the most important aspects of the imperial project, bringing land into productive, commercial use. This often meant coming up against an Irish outlook which did not place the same emphasis on productivity and profits but gave cultural and social significance to land as a way of life.

Scottish refusal to acknowledge the validity of this alternate approach was obvious in the frustration of Scots contributors to the Devon Commission at the apparent refusal of the Irish to see what, in Scottish eyes at least, was best for them. The influx of Scots following the Famine perhaps marked the peak of Scottish improving zeal, a time when the economic and political arguments for improvement seemed at their most potent. A more British Ireland might be built over the depopulated and demoralised Ireland of the Famine's immediate aftermath. These hopes proved short lived as Scots began to acknowledge the peculiarities of the Irish case. Perhaps counter-intuitively, this acknowledgment of Irish distinctiveness may have undermined any prospects of Irish equality within the union state. Up to the 1850s, the Irish had been different, but confidence in the universalist potential of humanity for modern commercial society had meant they were seen as eminently transformable. Following the failure of the new plantation on the *tabula rasa* of post-Famine Ireland, the historicist acceptance of insurmountable Irish difference created a fundamental divide between Ireland and the rest of the UK.

The Irish struggled at times to understand the apparent necessity for Scottish style improvements and even amongst the Irish gentry there was the awareness that improvement was perhaps unnatural and unsuited to Ireland, that it was destroying a distinctly Irish way of life. The Irish consistently resisted the legitimacy of Scottish improvement methods, seeing the legal buying-out of leases as akin to eviction, a viewpoint rooted in the refusal to acknowledge the moral and economic justifications upon which they were based. Crucially, however, the Irish did recognise such methods as distinctively Scottish, reinforcing the association which Scots themselves made between their nation and advanced agriculture.

Beneath the banal technical agricultural discussions of drainage, fencing, and consolidation lay a fundamental ideological division between the Scots and their

championing of improvement, claiming for themselves enlightened reason and economic progress, and the Irish, defending their own style of land ownership based upon tradition and social cohesion. These qualities played an important part in making nineteenth-century Scots such willing Britons and the Irish such reluctant ones.

Civic Scots: The Scottish Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew and the discourses and practice of Scottish identity in Dublin

Introduction

In 1922, Scotsman James Hubbard Clark, the last High Sheriff of Dublin, addressed a meeting of his fellow members of the Dublin Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew:

> On behalf of the Scottish community in Dublin, he could say that they would be loyal to the Free State and the Governor-General and to the great Empire, of which they would be part. (Hear, hear.) Proceeding, Alderman Clark said that prosperity to Ireland could come about by recognition of civic responsibilities. (Hear, hear.) Personally, he was satisfied that the cause of trouble was lack of civic interest.[744]

The 'trouble' that contextualised Clark's comments was the ongoing Irish civil war, the final act in a process of political upheaval and violence which led to the creation of the Irish Free State made up of twenty-six of Ireland's thirty-two counties, to the exclusion of six Ulster counties which remained a part of the United Kingdom. Clark's themes, loyalty to the *status quo* coupled with civic duty and responsibility, echoed the collective worldview of the society's membership throughout its history since its nominal foundation in 1831, whilst his personal experiences were illustrative of the type of men, for they were all men, who made up its membership during that time. Having come to Dublin from Glasgow as a clerk in his twenties, Clark had gone onto start his own business and went on to become a prominent member of the city's commercial community, serving as Chairman and director for several companies and holding roles in several philanthropic and local government institutions. Appointed the last High Sheriff of Dublin in 1921, the judicial representative of the Crown in the city, he served until the abolition of the office in 1924, and would go on to become President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce.[745] This combination of professional or commercial success combined with a corresponding role in the public life and civic governance of Dublin marked most of the membership of the Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew. Founded to provide financial assistance to Scots and their families in the City, either by offering temporary financial support or assistance in arranging

[744] *IT* 1 December 1922, p.8
[745] *IT* 8 July 1959, p.8

passage back to Scotland, membership of the Society was open to people born in Scotland, or those with Scottish-born parents. In practice the Society became the preserve of a developing Scottish professional and commercial middle-class in the city, linked increasingly not only by their national origin but by business and family networks and shared religious and civic institutions. This study aims to use the Society's activities and membership, as a whole and as individuals, as a means of placing the explicitly Scottish identity articulated during Society events within the wider contexts of the social space they occupied as part of Dublin's middle classes. It remains to be seen whether the professional, commercial, and civic activities of these Scots reflected a distinctively Scottish experience or reflected wider patterns of their peers across urban Britain and Ireland.

The Society's Membership and Structure – Commercial, Kinship, and Religious Networks

Identifying the members and structure of the Society has been a process entirely reliant on the use of contemporary press reports, almanacs, and directories for Dublin.[746] Using these sources, it has been possible to assemble lists of the office bearers of the society from 1835 to 1922, with only the years 1853-6 being entirely incomplete. In addition, press reports often contained lists of members and guests present at society events, allowing for the further identification of active members. It is crucial to emphasise at this stage that I have worked from the Society outwards into wider Dublin life, not the other way around. By virtue of being a member of the Society a person is known to be born in Scotland, or born to parents who were born in Scotland, and they are choosing to identify themselves as Scottish in some way.

Although the pre-1901 census records for Ireland have not survived in full, the birthplace statistics for the 1851 census were later reproduced in editions of *Thom's Almanac*. From this it is possible to see that County Antrim, and County Down together accounted for 34.2% (23.6% and 10.6% respectively) of the Scots-born population of Ireland, the other seven counties of Ulster accounting for 15.8%. By comparison County Dublin accounted for 19.6%, with 15.3% of Scots-born people in Ireland living in Dublin City itself.[747] These statistics do not account for Irish return migration, so a

[746] See Appendix 5; I am especially grateful to Joe Curran for his help in locating directories before the establishment of *Thom's Almanac* in the mid-1840s
[747] *Thom's Almanac 1857*, p.497

child born in Scotland to an Irish family who then returned to Ireland would be counted as Scots-born. Instances like these would perhaps actually inflate the totals for Ulster, where migration to and from Scotland was easier and more common, relative to Dublin. If this were the case, then Dublin would account for a significant portion of the Scottish population of Ireland. This does not mean they were a numerically significant part of Dublin's population however, the 1,882 Scots-born people accounted for a mere 0.7%, of Dublin City's population of 258,369.[748] By 1911, there were just over 4,000 Scots-born individuals in Dublin County, though of these a substantial part, 1,540, were either Catholic or belonged to the Church of Ireland, suggesting again that this figure was inflated by Irish return migration. The 4,000 Scots-born individuals contained only 258 adherents of the Church of Scotland, out of a city-wide population of 1,295. The remaining Scots-born population gave their religion as a generic 'Presbyterian' or as other Protestant denominations, leaving open plausible origins in the non-established churches of Scotland or, again, Irish return migrants.[749] It should be clearly stated that whilst religion is not and should not be taken as an indicator of nationality, but these figures are sufficient to emphasise that Dublin's Scottish community represented an extremely small minority within the city and wider county. In numerical terms it is likely that membership of the Society was consisted of a minority of this minority.

Given the lack of extant records of the Society, any estimate of its numerical strength is reliant on those occasions where press accounts of meetings included membership lists. These are few and far between. An easy starting point might be that the Society seems to have maintained a consistent level of officeholders throughout its period, ranging between twenty-one and twenty-five if chaplains and honorary physicians are included. Problems arise when trying to estimate the size of the Society's ordinary committee, whose members, being less prestigious than the various vice-presidents, were not always listed in press reports. In 1835, the earliest date in which all officeholders were listed, the Society had twenty-five officeholders in total; in 1889, the last such year, it had twenty-four.[750] It might be reasonable to assume that, as the levels of vice-presidents and other offices remained steady between 1889 and the

[748] Ibid., p.497
[749] 1911 Census online, The National Archives of Ireland, http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/
[750] See Appendix 5

1920s, the ordinary committee also maintained a steady level of membership. A further reasonable assumption might be that the Society would have a membership beyond its officeholders, certainly individual non-officeholders can be identified in press reports of annual meetings, whether giving toasts, sending their apologies for not attending, or their deaths being recorded.

We can identify a few snapshots of memberships for those few years where reports of meetings were accompanied by a full list of attendees. This metric is, however, complicated by the society's decision, in 1877, to allow non-members to attend.[751] Finally, it must be remembered that the total society membership might, and probably did, exceed the number of members in attendance at any individual event. As an example, in 1868, before the attendance of guests, twenty-four officeholders were joined by thirty-five other members at the St Andrew's day meeting, but this was accompanied by a rare statement of a total membership of 180.[752] After this date estimates of membership rely upon clearly demarcated lists of members and non-members attending. With all these caveats then there are very few years where a precise figure of members in attendance could be given. In 1880, twenty-four officeholders were joined by twenty-six other members and thirteen guests.[753] In 1881, as the Society celebrated its fiftieth year, twenty-five officeholders were joined by fifty-seven members and forty guests.[754] This high point was maintained until at least 1889 when twenty-four officeholders were joined by fifty-five members and fifty guests.[755] Beyond this point detailed lists of attending members are absent. From this extremely limited data some cautious conclusions might be drawn. Firstly, that the Society's membership including officeholders must have remained above the fifty-person mark throughout most of its existence as it seems that the number of officeholders was generally matched or exceeded by the numbers of non-officeholding members. Secondly, that the 1880s saw a marked increase in membership levels. Speculatively this might be the result of the combination of both increased interest in the Society as it celebrated its milestone fiftieth anniversary, and of a growing desire amongst Dublin's Scots for an associational outlet for their own politics (generally unionist) and

[751] *FJ* 1 December 1877, p.3
[752] *FJ* 1 December 1868, p.3
[753] *IT* 1 December 1880, p.3
[754] *IT* 1 December 1881, p.3
[755] *IT* 2 December 1889, p.6

identity as a reaction to the political challenge of Irish nationalism. Finally, the prospect of a membership far larger than those in attendance at meetings, as in 1868, must be considered, though this may indicate a passive subscriber membership who kept apart from the more prestigious gatherings of the society's leadership. The decision to allow guests in 1877, and the apparently large numbers of guests in attendance during the 1880s, might reflect generational developments within the Scottish community, as third and fourth generation Scots born in Ireland could no longer fulfil the conditions of full membership.

Given the above it might be a plausible assumption that the society's membership across the period usually consisted of between fifty and eighty members attending regular events, with possibly more subscribing to the Society. Even given these uncertainties it can be stated that the society's members were a tiny minority of Scots who themselves formed a tiny minority in Dublin. However, its membership included representatives of the city's financial and mercantile elites. These men had a presence and visibility disproportionate to their numbers. As such, they fostered a public image of Scottishness which people in the city, and more broadly, could engage with. How this influenced the larger numbers of ordinary Scots workers in the city, beyond the donations of aid, we might not know. But their importance in helping to shape a public discourse of Scottish identity with which various forms of Irishness could engage, both positively and negatively, should not be underestimated.

It might be helpful to illustrate the Society's significance by drawing upon the wider context of British associational culture, examining the Society in comparison with studies of other similar institutions in other nineteenth-century British cities. Founded in 1831, the Society emerged within the timeframe of developing middle-class associational culture of the first half of the nineteenth century.[756] In the specifically Irish context, this period saw a transition in societal activity away from a predominantly social emphasis on clubbing towards associational activity with clear moral and material aims and purposes, and which became more accessible to Dissenters and Catholics.[757] Given that one recent study has identified the growth of Saint Andrew societies and Scottish associational culture in the UK, outside of London, as a distinctly

[756] Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, p.167
[757] Martyn J. Powell, 'Civil Society, c.1700-c.1850' in Kelly (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Ireland Vol. III*, pp.407-8

later phenomenon developing from the 1870s, the Dublin Society is not mentioned at all, it might be prudent to emphasise the early development of the Dublin Society when considering if the Society fulfilled national or class orientated functions for its members.[758] The aims of the society, however, in providing assistance to their fellow Scots echoed the functions of similar emigrant organisations in North America who provided 'a safety net for those Scots who had no one but their fellow countrymen to turn to in their time of need post-emigration.'[759] What then prompted the Scottish community in Dublin to create their organisation in 1831, when other parts of the UK with significant numbers of Scots, in the industrial North and Midlands of England and even Belfast, did not do so until decades after? The answer that might be suggested lies not in the numbers of Scots, but rather the types of Scots that settled in Dublin. They were significant in terms of their roles within the city's commercial and civic life. The timing of the Society's founding, 1831, might reflect several developments. Firstly, the arrival and success of several Scottish family businesses during an 'influx of Scots into Dublin' during the 1820s, more colourfully termed the 'peaceful invasion of Scottish merchants' by a present day representative of one of those families.[760] Their ability to establish themselves fairly quickly within the city's commercial life may be reflective of the concurrent establishment of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. Created in 1820's the Chamber was seen as a more politically and religiously open alternative to the existing merchant and trade guilds of the city. Aiming to 'attract merchants of all religious and political persuasions', the new Chamber would have represented an ideal forum for newly arrived Scots Presbyterians to gain a foothold within the city's mercantile circles.[761] The second factor was the creation and organisation of the Provincial Bank of Ireland during the 1820s. Whilst the operation and Scottish character of the bank will be examined later, it is relevant to highlight here its explicit policy of hiring Scottish staff, bringing to Dublin, and to branches all over Ireland, a class of Scottish professional bankers. One such Scot, Robert Murray, who oversaw the bank's operation in Ireland as 'Chief Inspector of Branches', was a

[758] Tanja Bueltman, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh 2013), pp.164-6
[759] Ibid., pp.118-121
[760] L.M. Cullen, 'Germination and Growth' in Niall Growley (ed.), *Allied Irish Banks; Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Dublin 1979), p.52; Alex Findlater, *Findlaters: The Story of a Dublin Merchant Family 1774-2001* (Dublin 2001), p.23
[761] Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism, 1660*-1840 (Oxford 1997), pp.359-60

founding member of the St Andrew Society in 1831.[762] It should also be noted that the society membership, particularly at the higher office-holding levels were part of a stratum of Dublin society that was increasingly geographically as well as culturally demarcated, with many of them residing in the 'primly respectable townships south of the capital.'[763] The likes of Rathmines, Rathgar, Blackrock, or further afield Dun Laoghaire (Kingstown), were increasingly becoming residential suburbs for the professional and commercial elites of the city. The city's Scots then, had a profile and visibility beyond their numbers due to their prominent role within the city's business circles, the 'merchant-professional elite' that R.J. Morris has identified as being the driving force behind successful voluntary societies and middle-class associational culture in Leeds.[764]

Structurally, as partially discussed, the Society tended to have between twenty-one and twenty-six office bearers at any one time, a president, eight or nine vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, eight or nine committee members, one or two chaplains, and one or two physicians.[765] Once elected it seems that it was customary for the president to remain in office whilst they were able to do so, the society only having six presidents from its foundation until 1918. James Ferrier was president from 1831 until 1851, and it is telling that the first president chosen from a Scottish business family who had arrived in Dublin in 1771, and who were therefore far better established than the new arrivals of the 1820s. His successor Alexander Parker was re-elected every year from 1852 until 1886, even though frailty and age had caused him to cease attending the Society's meetings in 1880. James Robertson served from 1887 until his death in 1897, and his son, also James Robertson, served from 1904 until his own death in 1918. During the intervening years George Macnie served as president from 1898 to 1902, and D J Cunningham filled the role in 1903. It would also seem that the ranks reflected status hierarchies within the society, with older more established names receiving the distinction of vice-president, whilst ordinary committee positions were taken by younger men at the beginning of their careers. The roles of secretary and treasurer also seem to have been treated as quasi-permanent appointments,

[762] *IT* 4 December 1865, p.4
[763] Jackson, *Ireland*, p.224-5
[764] Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, pp.325-327
[765] Discussion of the Society's officeholders throughout this text will be based upon the information contained in Appendix 5, as discussed above this information was compiled through a combination of directories and press reports.

during the same period only nine men served as secretary to the society and a mere five as treasurer. These positions served as a stepping stone from the committee to vice-presidential status. There are several examples of members who served as committee members, then as either treasurer or secretary, before becoming vice-presidents. Otherwise the mainly honorific office of vice-president reflected the most prominent Scottish commercial families in the city. Frequently, promotion from committee to vice-presidential status reflected an individual's achievement of certain 'bourgeois badges', especially civic appointment as a Justice of the Peace, Resident Magistrate, or High Sheriff.[766] These structures, reflecting the internal hierarchies and intra-class distinctions within the membership seems to fit the identified patterns of charitable societies and associations in other contemporary UK cities. [767]

If then, the forms of Scottish association reflected wider trends across the Victorian United Kingdom and Empire, did the types of roles Scots fulfilled in Dublin demonstrate any particularly national characteristics? The idea that Scots possessed an inherent aptitude for banking and financial activity was present not just within early nineteenth-century financial circles, but has been oft-repeated by subsequent historians. Some of the earliest work on Scots outside of Scotland emphasised this point, and it continues to hold a degree of credibility.[768] Certainly the expansion of Irish banking from the 1820s looked to Scottish example and expertise, the most prominent example being the already discussed formation of the Provincial Bank of Ireland.[769] As the Scottish secretary of the bank, James Marshall, related to the Secret Committee on Joint Stock Banks in 1837, that the bank:

> (H)aving set out with the resolution that the business should be conducted upon the principles which had been so long and so successfully acted upon in

[766] Ciaran O'Neil, 'Bourgeois Ireland, or, on the Benefits of Keeping One's Hands Clean', in Kelly (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Ireland Vol. III*, p.534
[767] For example: Edinburgh in Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p.70; Or Leeds in Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, pp.166-169

[768] For early examples see David S Macmillan 'Scottish Enterprise and Influences in Canada', p.49; and James Parker 'Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914' both in Cage (ed.), *The Scots Abroad*, p.49, p.217; for a more recent take on this theme see T.M. Devine and MacKenzie, 'Scots in the Imperial Economy' in Mackenzie and Devine (eds.) *Scotland and the British Empire*, p.242
[769] Charles W. Munn, 'The Coming of Joint-Stock Banking in Scotland and Ireland, c.1820-1845' in Devine and Dickson (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850*, pp.204-207, 211-213; Peter Ollerenshaw, 'Aspects of Bank Lending in Post-Famine Ireland' in Mitchison and Roebuck (eds.) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939*, p.222

> Scotland, it seemed desirable to obtain from that country persons trained up in banks there. [770]

Partly reflecting this stated policy, the Provincial Bank continued to feature Scots in its most prominent roles. As mentioned above its first chief official in Ireland, Robert Murray was a founding member of the society and the Scottish banking class continued to furnish officeholders to the society. David Ross, another Scot who served as Chief Officer of the Bank in Ireland from 1886, was Vice-President of the Society from 1892 to 1896. John Lumsden, manager of the Bank's branch in Dublin's College Street, the most prestigious branch position, served as Vice-President of the Society between 1896 and 1900, and again after his retirement from 1910 to 1912. Lumsden had joined the Provincial in 1867, and worked his way through the ranks to become manager at College Street in 1882 until his retirement in 1907. The announcement of his retirement highlighted his Scottish origin, 'like many another prominent commercial figure in Dublin', and his role in Irish golfing circles, praising him as 'quite the father of the game in Ireland.'[771] One of Lumsden's fellow Dublin branch managers, Robert Nicol, also served as Vice-President of the society, though not until 1922. Nicol first appeared among listings of the bank's managers in 1901 as manager of the Provincial's sub-branch at St Stephen's Green, a role he still held when he became Vice-President in 1922. The experience of these men, who each held their peak professional roles for several years before they were elevated within the Society indicates that there was a membership hierarchy which reflected long-standing connections to the Society as well as mere professional or social status. The involvement of Dublin's Scots community extended beyond the Provincial to the Royal Bank of Ireland. Scot Frederick William Niven rose from being the Bank's cashier in Dublin during the 1860s to become Chairman and Managing Director by his death in 1903. Another Scot Charles Copland served as Manager, then as Managing Director and Chairman from the 1860s into the 1880s. Both served as Vice-Presidents for the society, Copland on six occasions, and Niven on five. Several other society members served on the board of directors, Alexander Parker, Alexander Findlater, and David Drummond being amongst the most prominent, at one point during the 1870s three of

[770] *Report from the Secret Committee on Joint Stock Banks; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index,* HC (1837) (531), p.283
[771] *IT* 14 February 1907, p.5

the seven directors were Scottish. Scottish involvement in these two banks reflected the politicised nature of the Irish banking system which had developed from the 1820s and 1830s, politicisation which tended to fall along sectarian employment lines. Cormac Ó Gráda has argued that the Provincial Bank serviced a loosely unionist 'landed and professional clientele' across Ireland, whilst the Royal Bank focussed on the business of Protestant Dublin.[772] Given the Provincial's policy of recruiting from Scotland, and the Royal's preferred clients and business partners it should not be surprising that senior Provincial staff are found amongst the ranks of the Saint Andrew Society, or that prominent members of the Society's Scots business community are found amongst the directors of the Royal Bank. Whilst it must always be remembered that native Irishmen continued to form a majority of the city's financiers, Scottish involvement in Ireland's banks was significant given their small numbers. Scots had almost no influence on the 'nationalist' or 'Catholic' banks such as the National Bank or Hibernian Bank, but at least one Society member, Robert Farquharson, worked in a senior role as the sub-manager of the Munster Bank's Dublin branch on Dame Street.[773] The Scottish reputation as a nation of good financiers and bankers was combined with existing sectarian and political divisions to give Scots in Dublin a disproportionate influence on the 'Protestant' banks of Ireland.

Scottish connections from banking and finance swiftly spread into Scottish commercial circles in the city. Robert Murray's successor as Chief-Inspector of the Provincial Bank was another Scot, Thomas Hewat (b.1806), and whose brother William (b.1802) also worked for the Bank. The Hewat's would become a prominent fixture of the Scottish business community. William's (b.1802) sons, Thomas D. (b.1838) and William Hewat (b.1843), who also briefly worked for the Provincial, connected the family to the coal merchant Thomas Heiton, another Scot. Thomas (b.1838) worked for Heiton's from 1851-1868, before William (b.1843) acquired the firm on Thomas Heiton's death in partnership with John Malcolm Inglis, also Scottish, in 1877. Inglis became a prominent figure in Dublin business circles and served as President of the Chamber of Commerce in 1901 and 1902, having previously held the roles of Vice-President (of which there was only one) and secretary. The son of Thomas D. Hewat (b.1838), another William Hewat (b.1865) would go on to serve as President of the Dublin

[772] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939* (Oxford 1994), pp.356-7
[773] *TA 1880*, pp. 984, 1641

Chamber of Commerce in 1922, and as TD for Dublin North from 1923 to 1927. Between them this handful of men serve as direct links between the founding of the Society and the end of this analysis in 1922. Thomas Heiton had served on the Society's committee from 1841until 1851, and as Vice-President from 1857 to 1860; Thomas Hewat (b.1806) as Vice-President from 1870 to 1873; Inglis served on the committee in 1877 and 1878; and William Hewat (b.1865) as Vice-President from 1897 to 1901 and again from 1918 until at least 1922. In addition, either William Hewat (b.1843) or, more likely, William Hewat (b.1865) served on the committee during the 1880s. Connections to the wider Scottish community went further, J.M. Inglis was linked by marriage, their wives were sisters, to William Findlater of the second generation of that Scottish family who in turn shared numerous business interests with the companies of fellow Scots William Todd and Gilbert Burns, Burns's wife was a Ferrier, the family of the Society's first President James Ferrier. Gilbert Burns had also originally been a partner in Thomas Heiton's business Findlater, Todd, and Burns all served spells as Vice-President within the society, as did numerous members of their families.

The purpose of reproducing in such detail this interweaving web of Scots is to demonstrate that the Society sat atop a complex network of kinship and business connections amongst the Scottish commercial and professional classes in Dublin. This was a feature of most areas of Scottish associational culture, and one which Scottish organisations could facilitate.[774] In this respect, however, Dublin's Scots were not unusual compared to other similar minorities in contemporary cities. John Seed's study of the small Unitarian communities in the industrialising North of England during the early 1800s highlights several key areas in which their experience mirrored that of these Dublin Scots: they were a 'substantial elite of merchants, bankers, physicians, and solicitors'; structured around 'a network of interconnected families (who) over several generations provided a central grouping within the membership'; and advocating distinct values 'the vindication of self-help' coupled with 'the disdain for those who fail to become independent and successful.'[775] As shall be seen later, these values were uncannily similar to the values the members of the Dublin Saint Andrews

[774] Marjory Harper, 'Transplanted Identities: Remembering and Reinventing Scotland across the Diaspora' in Tanja Bueltman, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton (eds.) *Ties of Bluid, Kin an Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph 2009), p.23
[775] Seed, 'Theologies of power', pp. 121, 130, 135

Society would articulate as being distinctly Scottish. Other works have also tended to include 'Scots' as a category alongside explicitly religious identities. Stanley Chapman has included the Scots among the groups of 'socio-religious trading elites' alongside Jews, Huguenots, and Quakers, and similarly W D Rubinstein identified 'such groups' as 'Quakers, Unitarians, Huguenots, and overseas Scots'.[776] Both suggest that religious belief *per se* was not responsible for the disproportionate prominence of these groups among Britain's commercial classes. Rather Chapman and Rubinstein emphasise the importance of close-knit kinship networks, which maintained a cultural identity and sense of separation.[777] Chapman argues that the prime motivation for such minorities was the 'struggle for social acceptance for themselves and their grouping', and distinguishes between the Scots and Quakers, who found British society more open to their integration, and groups such as the Jews and Huguenots who maintained a stronger sense of separation in proportion to their continued exclusion.[778] Rubinstein further links these groups by identifying a common group perception of 'Chosenness', these groups he argued shared 'a sense of moral superiority' and at some level linked their experiences to that of the 'ancient Hebrews'.[779] Again, for Dublin's Scots these claims have relevance, the Scottish community did gradually gain wider acceptance in Dublin society, its members gaining roles within local government and its events increasingly attended by large numbers of prominent city officials, including several Lord Mayors. However, again it must be questioned whether the experience of Dublin's Scots, and indeed these other minorities, differed from the wider experiences of their contemporaries within commerce and business. Morris has argued that associational culture was crucial in that it allowed for the channelling of the inherent divisions and 'fragmentation' of the urban middle classes into forms which allowed them to maintain a coherent outward appearance of class unity whilst extolling universal social values, values which included 'that unquestioned sense of being right' and of having 'the right and the duty to bring those values to others'.[780] This was the self-confident idea of 'Chosenness'

[776] Stanley Chapman, 'Ethnicity and money making in Nineteenth-Century Britain', pp.154, 165-6; W.D. Rubinstein, 'The Weber thesis, ethnic minorities and British entrepreneurship', p.172 both in David J. Jeremy (ed.) *Religion, Business, and Wealth in Modern Britain* (London 1998)
[777] Chapman, 'Ethnicity and money making', p.154; Rubinstein, 'The Weber thesis, ethnic minorities and British entrepreneurship', p.172
[778] Chapman, 'Ethnicity and money making', pp.165-6
[779] Rubinstein, 'The Weber thesis, ethnic minorities and British entrepreneurship', p.177
[780] Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*, p.167

supposedly reserved for minorities in action. Thus, whilst the membership boundaries of a religious community like the Unitarians rested upon different criteria than the Dublin Saint Andrew Society, they were in fact both acting in the same manner, reinforcing identifiably middle-class values and middle-class social structures. Once again, it seems pertinent to suggest that the forms and values of the Saint Andrew society followed a universal model of associational culture prevalent amongst the middle-classes of most contemporary urban centres in the UK.

It is unclear whether the society maintained an explicit or implicit religious bar to membership. Certainly, all public documents seemed to indicate that Scottish birth or parentage were the only qualifying factors necessary. This was not the case for Dublin's Caledonian Benevolent Society, a friendly society based in the city. Although records of this society are even less extant than the St Andrew Society, the requirement from the early 1900s for friendly societies to provide detailed membership and accounts to the UK government means that a copy of its rules and regulations have survived. From its founding in 1843, the Society was open to those who were 'a Scotchman, or a son of a member of the society'. The updated rules of 1865, however, stated that the society was open to those who were 'a Scotchman, the son of a Scotchman, being a protestant.'[781] It is unclear whether the religious bar applied to both native born Scots or just to their children. Either way it was clear that Protestantism was seen by this less prestigious organisation as constituting a key criterion of Scottishness. Despite the lack of evidence for an explicit religious definition of Scottishness for the St Andrew society, Protestantism did provide an important grounding for Scottish identity in Dublin, both as a theme for Society unity, and another outlet for civic service for its members. If unity and the Presbyterian churches were not natural bedfellows during the nineteenth century in Scotland or Ireland, the Society attempted to account for these divisions by maintaining two chaplains whenever possible. Usually a minister, if possible a Scot, from one of the Dublin churches of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, was paired with the minister, invariably Scottish, of the city's 'Scots Church' on Lower-Abbey Street which was connected firstly, from its foundation in1863, to the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and latterly from 1900 as part of the United Free Church of Scotland, reflecting ecclesiastical

[781] NAI FA59, 'Rules of the Caledonian Benevolent Society 1843'; 'Rules of the Caledonian Benevolent Society 1865'

developments in Scotland. This congregation formally became a part of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland in 1927, before the large-scale reunion of the Scottish Churches in 1929.[782] Two society chaplains, James Carlisle and Robert McCheyne Edgar served as Moderators of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The Society's membership was caught up in these schismatic tendencies within Irish Presbyterianism. The formation in 1840 of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland from the various Presbyterian groups in Ireland had arisen following the secession of several congregations into what they called the Remonstrant Synod. Ensuing arguments over who could gain access to the Church's General Fund resulted in legal proceedings. The final court judgements of 1842-3 removed some of the Fund trustees who were either part of, or thought to be sympathetic with, the Remonstrant Synod and new trustees were appointed. The Society's president at the time, James Ferrier, was one of the trustees removed from his post. Among the new trustees were several men who also held Society positions: William Todd, vice-president, John Hamilton Reid, secretary, Thomas Heiton, and John Lang, both of whom served on the Society committee.[783] Ferrier and the new Trustees would all continue to hold prominent roles within the Society concurrently, demonstrating both that the religious divisions of the time were to some extent bridged over by the society, and also the influence of Dublin's Scots within the laity of the Presbyterian Church.

This influence was reflected in the membership of the city's Presbyterian Association, founded in 1862 under the name of the Young Men's Central Association, before changing its name in 1877. It aimed to provide a space for meetings, lectures, and classes; a library and reading room; to assist in missionary work; and, in a move not dissimilar to current charitable bodies, to provide a 'refreshment room' where 'Tea and Coffee may be supplied during certain hours at moderate rates'.[784] The influence of the Saint Andrew Society was apparent, of the sixteen men who held the presidency of the Association, seven of them also held office for the Saint Andrew Society. When only laymen are considered they were seven of thirteen non-clergymen to hold the role. Amongst these men were the aforementioned William Todd, William Hewat

[782] The Presbyterian Association, *The Presbyterian Association and Church House* (Dublin 1937), p.30
[783] Ibid., pp.4-5; Clarke H Irwin, *A History of Presbyterianism in Dublin and the South and West of Ireland* (London 1890), pp.123-7
[784] The Presbyterian Association, *The Presbyterian Association*, pp.7-8

(b.1843), David Ross, and David Drummond. In addition, five of the Association's seven treasurers during the period were Saint Andrew Society officeholders, Alexander Ogilvy fulfilling this function for both the Association and the Society simultaneously from 1885 to 1897.[785] Society Scots were active on behalf of Presbyterian causes, Society Vice-President William Ramsay McNab, the professor of Botany at Dublin's Royal College of Science, wrote to then Chief Secretary Arthur Balfour on the topic of university education for Presbyterians being made available in the city. Addressing the possibility of the creation of a Roman Catholic university in Ireland, McNab endeavoured to the impress upon Balfour the 'difficulty non-Catholics resident in Dublin at present labour under.' McNab stressed that non-Catholics attending the Royal College were 'compelled to take certain classes' rather than having free choice, which he considered unfair. As to the alternative of Trinity College, McNab was dismissive: 'Scotsman like myself object to the English system of Trinity College, and would prefer something more like the Scottish system.'[786] Here McNab was drawing on interlocking elements of his national and religious identities, urging Balfour to set up a higher education institution which would allow freedom of religion whilst adopting the academic structures of his native Scotland.

Once again though it would be prudent to emphasise that Scots were also active in more ecumenical causes, Society president Alexander Parker also served in that role for the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association, an organisation which seems to have included members from all Protestant dominations in its ranks.[787] Individual Scots were also prominent financiers of new churches for Presbyterians during this period. The Association's purpose-built meeting place Sackville Hall, completed in 1880 at a cost of £7000, was funded by the donations of the lay community, and would later be given over to the post office following the destruction of Easter Week 1916. Alexander Findlater gave £16 600 for the building of a new Presbyterian church at Rutland Square, now Parnell Square, which subsequently acquired the moniker 'Findlater's Church' and opened in 1864.[788] Findlater also, along with fellow Scot

[785] Ibid., pp.7, 11; See Appendix 5
[786] BL Add MS49844, W.R. McNab to Arthur Balfour 30 August 1889
[787] This verdict is based upon an examination of the listed officers in *Thom's Almanac* during the 1860s, which included members of Presbyterian, Quaker, and Church of Ireland families.
[788] Irwin, *A History of Presbyterianism*, p.276

James Weir, helped bear the majority of the costs for the new Presbyterian church at Kingstown, Dun Laoghaire, which was completed in 1863.[789]

Such charitable actions were most apparent upon the deaths of wealthy Scots. As an extreme example of generosity James Weir left £100 000 to be distributed among Dublin hospitals upon his death in 1898. The executors chosen to administer the funds were all, like Weir, Dublin Scots and members of the Saint Andrew Society: William Findlater, the solicitor nephew of Alexander Findlater, Robert Bell, and Weir's business partner James A. Merry. An initial distribution of £10 000 was made in February 1899, and of the ten organisations to receive £1000 donations, two were explicitly sectarian, the Presbyterian Orphan's Society, and the Presbyterian Sustenation Hospital.[790] If other Scots were not so wealthy, their wills still often demonstrated their religious convictions. John Rintoul, from Montrose, who served as a professor for the Irish National Board of Education from 1834 to 1882 left £400 in his will 'for Presbyterian churches in Ireland, but the bequest is strictly limited to those churches which use no Hymnal but the Psalms only, and in which no musical instruments of any kind whatsoever are used.' Rintoul was clearly here expressing his own views on how church services should be conducted. He also left £50 for the 'deserving poor' of his 'native town of Montrose', demonstrating that he had maintained some connection of attachment to his Scottish roots. [791]

Death was another marker of how Dublin's Scots fitted in to wider Dublin society. The funeral processions of the city's most prominent Scots reflected wider Victorian culture of the 'centipedic funeral', which 'came to represent civic and bourgeois authority most publicly in the late nineteenth century'.[792] Death also gave opportunity for society to address the identity of the deceased, press obituaries and funeral eulogies allowed for the public articulation of where these men and their experiences fitted into the wider life of the city. For Dublin's Scots, their deaths could be incorporated within several, often simultaneous, distinct narrative discourses: their assimilation to Irish society from Scottish roots, their social and commercial status with its incumbent civic and

[789] Anon., *Looking Back, Moving Forward: A History of Dun Laoghaire Presbyterian Church* (Dublin 2013), pp.18-21
[790] *IT* 17 June 1899, p.7
[791] *IT* 27 February 1901, p.5; *IT* 10 June 1901, p.8
[792] Simon Gunn, 'Ritual and civic culture in the English industrial city, c.1835-1911' in Robert J Morris and Richard H Trainor (Eds.) *Urban Governance in Britain and Beyond Since 1750* (Aldershot 2000), p.234

charitable responsibilities, and their examples as self-made men. It might also be remembered that similar themes had been developed in regard to some of the Scots politicians discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.

Awareness of the number of prominent Scots in the city's commercial circles was a frequently reproduced trope when discussing the lives of these men. On the death of John Wigham his obituary pointed to the fact that 'like many other highly successful business men in Dublin, the later Mr John R Wigham was of Scottish extraction', the account of the life of J M Inglis emphasised his experience of the success in the city 'like many other Scotchmen in our midst', whilst the death of Robert Bell 'remove(d) one of Scotland's most genial and liberal-minded sons who ever made Dublin their home.'[793] It might also be suggested that there was a corresponding awareness of the Scots as making a group contribution, when Gilbert Burns died his obituary paid tribute to 'the generation of commercial men of whom he was a leading representative'.[794] Given that Burns's primary business interests were in close partnership with the Todd and Findlater families, both Scottish and who had arrived during the period of the 1820s and 1830s, along with, as has been discussed, many other Scottish families who became prominent in the city, it should not be dismissed that Burns's 'generation' was also being identified along the lines of Scottish identity. This cohort of families arrived in and rose through the ranks of Dublin society together. Often, however, accounts of these Scottish origins also reconciled the deceased with Ireland and an Irish identity. So, for Burns's business partners, Henry and William Todd the former 'though a native of Scotland was thoroughly Irish in feeling' and the later 'although not a native of Ireland… was thoroughly identified in interest and sympathy with its welfare'.[795] Of the men discussed above it was felt that 'Ireland can ill afford to lose the services of such men' as John Wigham, that Ireland became for Inglis 'the land of his adoption', or that Bell had made Dublin his home. [796] By their residence and contribution to Ireland, these men, although they did not lose their Scottishness, were accepted as and conferred some degree of Irishness.

Another common theme reflected their status as important commercial figures within Dublin and how this had earned them an honoured place within the city. Thus, for

[793] *IT* 17 November 1906; p.7; *IT* 25 April 1902, p.5; *IT* 27 February 1901
[794] *IT* 10 October 1881, p.4
[795] *IT* 11 February 1863, p.4; *IT* 13 September 1881, p.4
[796] *IT* 17 November 1906; p.7; *IT* 25 April 1902, p.5; *IT* 27 February 1901

William Todd: ‘He was regarded universally among the most eminent and honoured of our merchant princes, and every citizen of Dublin knew and esteemed him.’[797] Likewise for Alexander Findlater, who ‘Gifted with rare powers he took rank among the princely merchants’. In Findlater’s obituary the implicit link between economic success and an obligation to charity was made explicit: ‘As one who occupied the foreground in a commercial community, he was ever among the first to identify himself with all philanthropic enterprises. There was not a scheme of benevolence which he did not aid by his princely donations.’[798] This implicit link was present for most of Dublin’s Scots who occupied similarly high commercial profiles. For David Drummond, the threefold link between commercial success, civic status, and charitable benevolence was clear: ‘one of our most eminent citizens’ Drummond was ‘prominent in the ranks of our most successful city merchants… But, much as he will be missed in commercial circles, his death will leave a blank in connection with many charitable institutions which will not be easily filled.’[799] The nuances of these implicit connections are apparent when the obituaries of more minor Scots are examined. For Scots who were only minor traders or professionals rather than in the upper echelons of Dublin’s commercial society, their obituaries were invariably shorter and less detailed and tended not to combine all the themes present in more prominent men. So the death of a minor businessman like William Aitken would ‘be lamented in mercantile circles’ but there was no suggestion of his death having any wider significance for the city as in the case of the likes of Findlater, Drummond, or Wigham.[800] Similarly, Alexander Ogilvy, another minor businessman, could be described as ‘a leading citizen’ thanks to his involvement in church affairs and also the Saint Andrew Society, but there was no implication that his death would impact upon the commercial life of the city.[801] For professionals too, their status was recognised in their having obituaries but these also highlighted the differences between them and the most successful commercial men. So James C. Anderson, who had held prominent roles in many of the city’s insurance firms, could be acknowledged as ‘one of the most respected and public-spirited citizens of Dublin’ in recognition of his service in local government, but could be

[797] *IT* 13 September 1881, p.4
[798] *IT* 15 August 1873, p.5
[799] *IT* 19 March 1904, p.13
[800] *IT* 20 April 1885, p.5
[801] *IT* 17 June 1913, p.8

ascribed no charitable contribution.[802] In this respect the forms of middle-class obituaries reflected, like so many other things, the hierarchies within this class of men, all of whom at some point held office in the Saint Andrew Society. Whilst these men were clearly able to be common members of a Society together, and whilst their deaths reflected the shared values they were seen to represent, there was also the reminder of hierarchy. The most successful men embodied commercial, civic, and charitable success all at once, whilst lower down the scale members of the group were limited to having the emphasis placed on one or two of these themes. Again, it must be highlighted how Gunn has argued that these themes were used by the middle-classes across the UK as a means of presenting a united front in the interest of preserving their power and status. Common death rituals, the large public funerals and published obituaries, were key to this:

> What such rites signalled was both the death of the patriarch and the continuity of patriarchal authority… for political and sectarian strife to be transcended in the expression of elemental themes: community, solidarity, mourning. In bourgeois funeral rites, especially, civic virtues were sanctified and spiritual virtues enhanced by the secular glow of civic duty.[803]

Clearly the emphasis on the contribution the dead had made to the city and public life was common to an entire stratum of Dublin society rather than just its Scottish members. What was unique to Scots was the need to explicitly address their identity as non-Irish and to reconcile them to a version of Irishness compatible with their contribution to the country's commercial and civic success.

The Scottish community necessitated two other distinct considerations when their lives were reconstructed as obituary or eulogy, the ability of Scots to become self-made men, and of a Presbyterian identity untainted by the political and sectarian associations of that religion in the north-east of Ireland. Robert Bell's experience was of coming to Ireland as 'a youth seeking his fortune' who worked his way up the ranks of society 'By hard work and integrity of purpose'.[804] In the case of Thomas Wardrop,

[802] *IT* 21 October 1920, p.6
[803] Gunn, 'Ritual and civic culture in the English industrial city, c.1835-1911', p.235
[804] *IT* 27 February 1901

religious conviction and his life-story of going from poverty to respectability, the Scots minister giving his funeral eulogy declared:

> It was his hardy up-bringing and his early religious training what gave that peculiar shape to his character which it ultimately assumed… Mr Wardrop was eminently a self-made man, having begun life as a working mason in a Scottish village, without social or educational advantage. By industry, enterprise, and success he acquired confidence in himself.[805]

Here, the trope of the self-made Scot was linked to Presbyterian beliefs, but these beliefs were often explicitly qualified as being non-threatening and a-political. So William Hewat's strong Presbyterianism and involvement in religious based charity was highlighted with the emphasis that 'no man could have been more free from bigotry, and no man could have been more loyal Churchman'.[806] David Drummond was an example of 'that grave and Christian piety which is the natural birth and rearing of the Presbyterian Church' but it was stressed that 'his philanthropic spirit refused to be bound by the distinctions of creed'.[807] The apparent need to emphasise a Presbyterianism free of bigotry or sectarianism some extent reflected a willingness to excuse the Scots of Dublin from association with the actions of their coreligionists in Ireland. Yet the Scots remained distinctly a part of a social and economic class, and it was this position, far more than their Scottishness which tended to dictate their place and roles within the life of the city.

Articulating Scottishness- Society Events and Politics

If, so far, we have examined the Scots within the broader context of Dublin's commercial and professional classes, it is because in many ways the everyday experience of these men was largely governed by their class identity rather than a national identity. In addition, in Dublin with its 'middle class fractured by confessional rivalry', the latent Presbyterianism which Scottishness often entailed did play an important role in placing Scots within society.[808] The articulation of national identity as Scots was largely reserved for Society events, of which the most prominent were the

[805] *IT* 14 February 1881, p.6
[806] *IT* 7 December 1900, p.5
[807] *IT* 19 March 1904, p.13
[808] David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a City* (London 2014), p.306

annual dinners in celebration of Saint Andrew's Day. The following examination of the forms which Scottish identity took during these gatherings will draw upon general studies of Victorian associational culture, wider studies of Scottish associations abroad, and more especially upon Kyle Hughes's study of Scottish associational culture in Belfast. For Hughes Belfast offered distinctive contexts for Scottish association, given that the 'host' community had to a large extent used preconceived notions of Scottishness to build their own hyphenated Ulster-Scots identity to promote political and religious separation from the rest of Ireland, a reality reflected in the forms of Scottish associational culture in the city.[809] However, it seems pertinent to first emphasise the commonalities between Dublin's Scots and the Scots of Belfast, especially as it seems the Belfast Saint Andrew Society based itself on Dublin's.[810]

R.J. Morris has used middle-class social gatherings in Leeds to illustrate how the forms of such events reflected group identities and power structures. Morris identifies the social functions of each element of such events: the seating arrangements, especially the position of a 'top table', 'represented all major centres of power'; 'the food had meaning beyond satisfaction of appetites'; a clear hierarchy of toasts, from the monarch down; and speeches which emphasised universal values of a 'middle-class ideology' of 'pride', 'prosperity', and 'improvement'. Morris argues that 'the variety and very different aims of these events should not hide the importance of common general social structures which were involved – the meeting, the annual report, the printed notice in the newspapers, the public dinners and breakfasts, the committees and subscriptions… They were well understood by participants.'[811] These general forms were altered as immediate context demanded, Scottish food and drink was a crucial part of any Saint Andrew's dinner, as was Scottish music or entertainment. The Society President usually occupied a top table alongside both the senior and prominent Society members and the high-ranking Irishmen present, Lord Mayors, High Sheriffs of the City, and Judges being among the most frequent guests. Hughes notes the 'rigid and predetermined' pattern of Belfast Society meetings, the toasts (in varying wordings) to monarch, lord lieutenant and Ireland, the military, the city and its commerce, Scotland, the Society itself, was almost identical to that of

[809] Hughes, *The Scots in Late Victorian and Edwardian Belfast,* pp.9, 88-9, 117-119
[810] Ibid., p.91
[811] Morris, 'A year in the public life of the British bourgeoisie', pp.136-141, 140-11

Dublin and fulfilled the same opportunities for 'oratorical back-slapping as the various respondents sought to capture the intrinsic qualities of the Scottish race.'[812] Common qualities identified by Dublin's Scots through the years as being distinctively Scottish were 'clannishness', 'independence, industry, thrift, determination', loyalty, 'self-help', benevolence, 'religious feelings', education, or 'grace, grit, and gumption' to give a few examples of how the same tropes were reworked and rephrased over decades.[813] If these qualities resembled the qualities held up by Scottish associations around the world, they were also, it bears repeating, mirroring the values taken to belong to the middle-classes more generally.[814] These values had their moral and normative roots in the Enlightenment conception of commercial society. The virtues identified as 'Scottish' or as simply belonging to the respectable bourgeoise as a whole were the 'commercial virtues' identified by the likes of Smith and Hume, themes such as industry, benevolence, probity, humanity, and independence were all viewed as both the drivers and results of a functioning commercial society, all encompassed within the new 'valued modality' of 'civility.'[815]

For Hughes, politics was a key part in distinguishing Belfast from other Scottish migrant destinations. The city's unionists drew upon a perceived Scottish identity of the population of Protestant Ulster to bolster their arguments.[816] For Dublin's Scots the politics of Home Rule produced a reaction similar in outlook, but often quite different in substance. As Alvin Jackson has argued, the capital's Unionism was 'impressive in its complexity', encompassing 'different social classes and networks, clubs and churches'. Dublin's Scots, entwined as they were within the various Protestant associations of the city straddled these divisions, encompassing the 'world of clerks and shopkeepers' and the 'Unionist bourgeoise' identified by Jackson as contingent part of the capital's nascent Unionist politics.[817] For the largely Presbyterian commercial and professional community of the Dublin Saint Andrew Society, loyalty

[812] Hughes, *The Scots in Late Victorian and Edwardian Belfast,* p.93
[813] *IT* 4 December 1874, p.3; *IT* 1 December 1881, p.6; *IT* 1 December 1887, p.6; *IT* 2 December 1889, p.6; *IT* 1 December 1894, p.5; *IT* 2 December 1902, p.6
[814] Graeme Morton, 'Ethnic Identity in the Civic World of Scottish Associational Culture' in Tanja Bueltman, Andrew Hinson, and Graeme Morton (eds.) *Ties of Bluid, Kin an Countrie: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora* (Guelph 2009), p.45; Morris, 'A year in the public life of the British bourgeoisie', pp.140-1
[815] Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society,* pp.139-42
[816] Hughes, *The Scots in Late Victorian and Edwardian Belfast*, pp.96-7
[817] Jackson, *Ireland*, p.224-5; see also Alvin Jackson, 'The failure of unionism in Dublin, 1900', *Irish Historical Studies* 26:104 (1989), pp.377-95

to the monarchy, empire, and constitution had been a natural and uncomplicated part of their meetings, Society President James Robertson could in 1880 praise the Society for providing 'another chance of testifying our unaltered and unalterable allegiance to the Throne and Constitution.'[818] However, increasing awareness of Irish nationalism and the advent of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 had made such articulations of loyalty more self-aware, as increasingly the nationalist press took aim at society Scots in their roles in wider public life.

The petition against Home Rule presented by Dublin's Chamber of Commerce to the incoming Lord Lieutenant, Aberdeen, in early 1886 demonstrated how nationalist hostility could exploit the nationality of the contemporary Chamber leadership, describing the 'Orange clique' as 'a job lot of Scotch adventurers, English commission agents, and faded land agents' making up 'a woebegone anti-Irish reading room.'[819] If this attack fingered Scots, English, and the Irish landed interest, subsequent attacks increasingly focussed on the Scottish elements within Chamber. Mainly this was because the President and Vice-President of the Society were Scots, John Wigham and J.M. Inglis. When the pair addressed the UK Associated Chambers of Commerce on the subject of Home Rule in March, there contributions were deemed too political for the discussions, much to the delight of the nationalist press:

> The spectacle of Mr Wigham and a brother Scot going over in the name of Dublin to repudiate Home Rule was too much for the stomach of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, The Chairman of that commercial Parliament incontinently ruled Mr Wigham and his Caledonian Irish statesmanship out of order, and the deputation returned to Dublin with the comforting assurance that honest Englishmen despised them as heartily as nineteen-twentieths of the people of the capital in whose name they have the effrontery to speak.[820]

The personal attacks on Wigham, 'a Scotch ironmonger', continued in light of the subsequent decision of the Dublin Chamber to blackball Michael Davitt and Timothy Harrington, both were IPP MPs whilst the latter was also the owner of *United Ireland*. Perhaps unsurprisingly the editorials in the paper were cutting, calling on those

[818] *IT* 1 December 1880, p.3
[819] *United Ireland* 27 February 1886, pp.2,4
[820] *United Ireland* 6 March 1886, p.4

members, mostly Catholic nationalists, who opposed the decision to leave the Chamber:

> There is no longer a rag to cover their naked partisanship. They might as well hang out a picture of King William crossing the Boyne as their sign-post, for all the judicious weight that will henceforth attach to their opinions. The word of the ballot is that there are 274 members who ought to be members no longer. Their withdrawal would render it burlesque of Mr Wigham and his brother Scotch Chiefs to dub themselves as commercial representatives of Dublin. The "Chamber of Commerce" would in due course subside into its proper category as an L.O.L., and Mr Wigham whenever he approaches the Viceregal throne with an address again, could come arrayed honestly in the regalia of the order.[821]

Clearly, the identity of the Chamber's leadership, its 'Scotch Chiefs', was an easy way for Irish nationalists to challenge its legitimacy as a representation of Ireland's business interests. The rhetorical leap from anti-Home Rule businessmen to Orangemen was perhaps made easier by their Scottish connections and Presbyterianism. Engagement with these men as Scots serves to demonstrate Irish nationalist awareness a separate unionist Scottish presence within Ireland and the wider United Kingdom. For his part, Wigham would continue to lobby politicians on behalf of the union long after he ceased to occupy the Chamber's presidency. On several occasions in 1889 and 1890 he wrote to then Chief Secretary Arthur Balfour enquiring as to the possibility of a royal visit to Ireland, arguing that it would strengthen Irish unionism. Balfour was required each time to decline the idea, stressing that there was 'no chance' that the Queen would visit Ireland, citing both the logistical difficulties and the political ones, nationalists he argued 'would make every effort to turn a demonstration which you had intended to be a protest against Home Rule into a protest in favour of making the Crown the only bond of union between the countries.' Wigham however was persistent and wrote again suggesting the Prince of Wales might come instead, but was again refused.[822] Inglis was an active politician, throughout 1884 and 1885 he had attempted to oust Sir George Campbell, the

[821] *United Ireland* 6 March 1886, p.4
[822] BL Add MS49328 John R. Wigham to Arthur Balfour 25 July 1889, 20 August 1889; Arthur Balfour to John R. Wigham 27 July 1889, 17 September 1889, 14 March 1890

incumbent MP, as Liberal candidate for the Kirkcaldy Burghs and secured significant backing.[823] Following the adoption of Home Rule by Gladstone's Liberal party, Inglis, a self-described 'Radical Scotchmen', in favour of Disestablishment and further Parliamentary Reform, began a move towards Irish unionism, including speaking in Scotland on behalf of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, the precursor to the electoral Irish Unionist Alliance.[824]

The Chamber of Commerce was not the only place where Irish nationalists saw this Scottish unionism at work during the heightened political atmosphere of the 1880s. The nationalist press, led by *United Ireland* frequently attacked the unionism of the *Irish Times* in terms of its Scottish ownership and staff. Owned since the 1870s by Scot Sir John Arnott, and managed by members of the Saint Andrew Society, first J.A. Scott, and then James Carlyle, there was an obvious utility for nationalists in presenting the paper as foreign and un-Irish. In 1883, a year which saw several Irish by-elections, the triumph of a Home Rule candidate in Limerick was hailed as a triumph over Scottish influence:

> After five stand-up fights with the mulish alliance in one year, and five such routs as Mallow, Monaghan, Wexford, Sligo, and Limerick inflicted upon the Scotch-Irish cross-breed party, we should probably hear very little more of it for some time to come. The Irish constituencies obstinately refuse to swallow the ambrosial brose of Sir John Arnott's brewing, and even the downiest Scotch thistle cannot be got to take in this most obstinate soil.[825]

This labelling of 'Scotch-Irish cross-breeds', the imagery of the thistle, and allusion to brose, a Scottish oatmeal-based dish, all served to identify the unionist cause in Ireland with resident Scots like Arnott. This was accompanied by reference to the 'Scotch Times' in place of the *Irish Times* and this, along with the metaphor's used above, would be a recurring theme of nationalist attacks. Later in the same year *United Ireland* again targeted the 'Scotch Times' for its opposition to the extension of the Irish franchise, which is worthy of lengthy quotation:

[823] *Dundee Evening Telegraph* 23 October 1884; *Edinburgh Evening News* 8 July 1885
[824] *Edinburgh Evening News*, 16 April 1886; *Glasgow Herald* 16 April 1886
[825] *United Ireland* 24 November 1883 p.5

> For real plaided Paisley arrogance, the *Scotch Times* is superb. Sir John Arnott's gillies apparently are under the impression that the brose is not thick enough in their own articles, so for the last fortnight the Dublin Caledonian public have been regaled with a stupendous mixture consisting of extracts from the *Scotsman*, pure and simple, against the extension of the Irish franchise, interlarded in the protests of the transplanted Scot. Really, our kilted friend should see that this too much. The Irish public get quite sufficient of the imported Lothian article without this terrible reinforcement. A bagpipe *solo* is bad enough, but we put it to Sir John whether this attempt at a concerted skirl can be tolerated! Mr J A Scott, of Scotland and Dublin, may not like the proposed extension of the franchise to the wild Eerish, ye ken, and doubtless thinks his writings will help powerfully to prevent that calamity; but surely he need not show the public here that he can only think in Scotch, nor attempt to demonstrate that the organs of Edinburgh embody the combined wisdom of the universe. The matter is only explicable on the supposition that the establishment in Westmoreland Street has become a branch office of the genuine *Scotsman*.[826]

The Irish writers were clearly able to maximise the nationalised language of this piece. Plaid, Paisley patterns, gillies, brose, kilts, bagpipes, and skirls all served as markers of Scottishness, and there is the attempt to replicate a Scottish accent. Beyond this obvious engagement with Scottish stereotypes, the reference to 'the Dublin Caledonian public', and to a generalised 'transplanted Scot', perhaps demonstrates an awareness of the city's influential Scottish caste, but may also be serving as an identification of unionist, more simplistically Protestant, Dublin as Scottish, and therefore un-Irish. Perhaps less obvious is the attack on the *Scotsman* itself, the 'imported Lothian article' of which the Irish apparently already hear too much of, and one of the 'organs of Edinburgh'. In this case it is interesting that the *Scotsman* is seen as a branch of the British establishment rather than as the journal of another peripheral province. By 1886, and the collapse of the first attempts to legislate Home Rule, attacks on the 'Scotch Times' increased in bitterness. Attacked for its 'sneaking, snivelling, toadyism' in its welcome of the new Viceroy Lord Castlereagh, the paper was labelled a 'foreign organ' which was calling 'upon all Irishmen to imitate its self-

[826] *United Ireland* 15 December 1883, p.4

respecting attitude and lick the Viceregal shoe.'[827] It obviously suited Irish nationalists to seek to undermine the legitimacy of those opposed to Home Rule by label them as un-Irish; the Scottish influence at what was increasingly the main press organ of unionism in the south of Ireland made an easy target.

From their perspective, Dublin's Scots embraced their own nationality when defending Ireland's place within the union state. If in Belfast Scottishness was seen as a basis for justifying the difference of Ulster from the rest of Ireland, in Dublin it was often shared Celtic ties of identity and history which were deployed by Dublin's Scots to justify the place of Scotland and Ireland remaining together within the wider British imperial family. Giving the main address to the dinner in 1886 Reverend James MacGregor emphasised loyalty as a key Scottish quality but emphasised the bonds that bound together the people of the UK:

> Scotchmen the world over, were not the least loyal, not the least industrious, not the least law abiding – (hear) – and not the least successful portion of the people of the British Empire. They kept alive the warm flame of nationalism, and next to religion came the love of kindred, the love of country… There might be more Celtic blood in the Scotchman than in the Englishman – (hear, hear) – (yes, rather) – (hear) – and more perhaps in an Irishman than in a Scotchman – did they say "rather" now? (No.) They were all members of one great race – Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Englishmen – and, as one race born, one race they should and would remain while the sands ran on, despite all the laws of man.[828]

MacGregor also drew upon Scottish history to explain Scotland's commitment to the United Kingdom and empire, highlighting Scotland's past of resistance to conquest which had allowed it to enter Union at the right time, arguing that 'it would have been a happier thing for Ireland, perhaps, if she had had a Robert Bruce, and a Bannockburn, and maybe, even a John Knox.'[829] Although Home Rule was never explicitly addressed, it would have been understood as the context for these themes of unity and loyalty which were continued in subsequent years. The following year Reverend James Brown proclaimed that 'Of all the subjects of her Majesty in all the wide dominion of this Empire, there were none more truly loyal than Scotchmen… No

[827] *United Ireland* 14 August 1886
[828] *IT* 1 December 1886, p.6
[829] Ibid., p.6

Scotchmen were more thoroughly devoted to her Majesty than Scotchmen resident in Ireland.'[830] In 1888, the Reverend Walter C Smith in giving the toast to the monarch remarked that 'He had heard there were some people in this country who declined to drink the health of the Queen and he was sorry for that. (hear, hear.)' going on to express his feelings that 'Ireland could never be to them a foreign country'.[831] The Dean of the Chapel Royal of Scotland J. Cameron Lees addressed the Society in 1889 suggesting that 'all wise men of all parties would hope that Ireland would advance in prosperity through her people being peaceful and contented , and that she would long remain an integral part of the great and glorious British Empire – (applause) – and that the Rose and the Thistle and the Shamrock might long remain entwined. (Applause.)'[832] And similarly in 1890 Reverend Donald McLeod defended the principle that national identity was compatible with union: 'He for one was not afraid of their nationality being absorbed or eclipsed by their union with England. (applause.) He was sure they had got the best of it. (laughter.)' The Scots and Irish were 'part of a great and mighty empire' and he also sought to harness Scotland's past to the cause of union: 'imagine the feelings of those who fought at Bannockburn, and Flodden and Dunbar, could they be present tonight to see a united people in whose breasts these bloody battles aroused no longer any bitterness of feeling, but served merely as a colouring for romance. (Applause.)'[833] These same themes remained a constant part of subsequent Society meetings, emphasising imperial linkages, loyalty to the crown, and the possibility for union to coexist with national identity and patriotism. The speakers, all prominent Scots ministers from prestigious parishes in Britain, are also illustrative of the role Presbyterianism continued to play as a key part of Scottish identity. As Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Society Chaplain Robert McCheyne Edgar, wrote to prominent Liberal politicians following the introduction of the second Home Rule Bill in 1893 stressing the General Assembly's opposition to the legislation, a gathering which was 'one of the largest, and certainly the most enthusiastic, I have ever attended.'[834] The Dublin Society's relationship with Scottish politicians was largely easier than its Belfast counterpart. Scots who rose to hold office in Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant, Chief-Secretary, or Under-

[830] *IT* 1 December, 1887 p.6
[831] *IT* 1 December 1888, p.6
[832] *IT* 2 December 1889, p.6
[833] *IT* 1 December 1890, p.5
[834] Bod. MS Bryce 214 Robert McCheyne Edgar to James Bryce 17 March 1893

Secretary were usually immediately bestowed with life membership of the Society. Gerald Balfour addressed the Society in 1895 having been made Chief Secretary. Balfour eschewed political issues raised from the floor, stressing that 'it was not in that capacity (as Chief Secretary)' that he addressed the society but 'as a Scotchman', assuring the assembled personages that even though 'his speech did not betray him', and offering as proof of his national credentials his ability to dance a Scotch reel.[835] Lord Aberdeen attended all but one of the Society's meetings during his second spell as Lord Lieutenant between 1905 and 1915. This caused far less controversy in Dublin compared to Belfast where Aberdeen's support of Home Rule caused friction and splits within the Saint Andrew Society of the northern city.[836]

If Dublin's Scots were less sensitive on the issue of Home Rule, it perhaps reflected their complacency as part of the city's relatively influential unionist caste, as David Dickson has argued Dublin continued to be the centre of a southern unionist culture which took its cue from the city.[837] This complacency faded as the reality of Irish nationalism became apparent from 1916 onwards. The Great War had given Scots another chance to laud the martial prowess of their nation and to proclaim their imperial identity, as one speaker put it in 1919: 'he was glad to be there, as it was the first occasion upon which they had met after the great war, in which Scotland had proved second to none. (Applause.) On a night like that the hearts of all should turn to Scotland and the Scottish nation, which had done so much for the Empire'.[838] The Scottish families of the Society contributed their share to the British military effort. Seven Findlater cousins, of the families third generation since moving to Dublin enlisted in the British armed forces, three of whom died during the war, one on the Somme, one at Gallipoli, and one of disease less than a month before the armistice.[839] Yet Ireland was changing, Easter Week 1916, the subsequent Anglo-Irish War, and Civil War would come as a shock to the middle-class Scots of Dublin.

Society meetings during the 1920s demonstrated that the move from part of the United Kingdom to self-governing Free State offered both problems and opportunities. Problematic for the Society was adjusting their ideas of Scottishness within an Imperial

[835] *IT* 2 December 1895, p.6
[836] Hughes, *The Scots in Late Victorian and Edwardian Belfast*, p.100-1
[837] Dickson, *Dublin*, p.391
[838] *IT* 2 December 1919, p.6
[839] Findlater, *Findlaters*, p.251

British framework to the new reality. The enduring links to the British crown, so controversial to those involved in the struggle for Irish independence, was taken as the easiest medium for continuity. Toasts to the King and Royal Family, along with the singing of 'the national anthem', 'God Save the King', remained a key part of proceedings, though as Alexander Blackadder, president for the year 1928, put it, in doing so they were 'expressing their loyalty to the Government, and their obedience to the laws of the State in which they resided.'[840] Toasts to the state they now found themselves living in continued to emphasise the linkages between Ireland and the rump UK, as one toast giver put it 'the Free State was a self-governing Dominion, and at the same time a partner in the Commonwealth of Nations known as the British Empire.'[841] This was part of a more general trend within Irish Protestant circles which saw 'political unionism rebranded as cultural royalism.'[842] The opportunities presented however perhaps outweighed the sense of loss and uncertainty. Society meetings now took the chance to weigh in on everyday political questions, on economic and symbolic issues, in a way in which had not been contemplated before. Criticism frequently rested upon tariff policy and protecting the ability to trade freely with the remaining UK, leavened on occasions by jokes concerning the import tax on haggis, with the 1935 haggis 'especially imported under licence' at the height of the reciprocal tariff war between the Free State and the UK.[843] However, the economic substance behind the haggis-framed criticism was real and issues raised during one Society meeting were deemed important enough to merit a next day press release from the government arguing its own case.[844] Another criticism concerned the perceived threat to Irish use of the pound sterling, and distaste for the 'entirely uncalled for' new Irish coinage.[845] Along with the symbolic alteration of Ireland's coinage the society took the opportunity to condemn the 'colossal blunder' of proposals to make Irish language a compulsory subject in schools.[846] The members also looked to affirm their place within Irish society, by emphasising their commitment to the new state, and through Irish speakers endorsing Scots contribution to the country. One member emphasised that 'Scotsmen in this country were intensely interested in its future', whilst another pointed out the

[840] *IT* 1 December 1928, p.10
[841] *IT* 1 December 1924, p.5
[842] Ian D'Alton, 'Protestant "Belonging" in Independent Ireland, 1922-49', p.28
[843] *IT* 2 December 1929, p.5 *IT* 2 December 1935, p.5
[844] *IT* 1 December 1927, p.8; *IT* 1 December 1924, p.5; *IT* 2 December 1924, p.5
[845] *IT* 1 December 1926, p.8
[846] Ibid., p.8

economic contribution that Scots had made to the 'prosperity of (their) adopted country': 'While many Irishmen had been investing their money in Timbuctoo looking for gold mines, Scotsmen residing in Dublin had taken more than their share in fostering home industries.'[847] Indeed, the prominence of Scots within the commercial world of Dublin seems to have been such that it has been taken for granted. One recent examination of the experience of Protestant Dublin businesses in the post-independence world identified the major business interests in the city. Of its seven department stores, two were owned by Scottish families, Arnott's and Todd Burns and Co. 'Both the leading coal companies' Heitons and Tedcastle were founded by Scots, and still in Scottish ownership at the inauguration of the Free State. The business empires of the Findlaters and Jamesons are discussed, with Arthur Jameson being identified as central to the nexus of Protestant interests as 'a former southern unionist leader, governor of the Bank of Ireland, and early free state senator.' Yet nowhere in this analysis are the Scottish origins or links between these businesses addressed. The fact that members of these families were still serving as Vice-Presidents together within the Saint Andrew society goes unremarked upon. Rather their experiences are used as evidence of a picture of Protestant Irishness adjusting to the new political dispensation. That these men had a nexus of identity that was neither Irish, nor strictly British in a political sense, is not considered.[848] Whilst on one level this may seem like a glaring omission it is also the perfect encapsulation of a group of people whose everyday lives melded so seamlessly with the rest of mercantile Protestant society. The particular contribution of Scots was highlighted by Irish guests at their post-Treaty meetings, guests who reflected the new political divides within the country. The presence of James Campbell, Lord Glenavy, former Unionist MP and unionist member of the new Irish senate, praising the 'civic virtue' and 'high business capacity' of Dublin's Scots and encouraging them to 'take their part in the public positions and civic life of the country to a greater degree than in the past' might perhaps be seen as a continuation of the Society's pre-Free State unionist inclinations. The appearance of former Irish Parliamentary Party MP Sir Walter Nugent marked a break from this tradition however, and reflected perhaps a reconsolidation of Irish society along new political divides, between the relatively pro-British Cumann na nGaedheal and the self-

[847] *IT* 3 December 1934, p.8; *IT* 1 December 1926, p.8
[848] Frank Barry, '"Old Dublin Merchant Free of Ten and Four": The Life and Death of Protestant Businesses in Independent Ireland' in D'Alton and Milne (eds.), *Protestant and Irish*, pp.158-162

styled ‘Republican Party’ Fianna Fail. Nugent praised Scottish business capacity and cited their continued presence in Ireland as a sign that the Free State would succeed, ‘as long as Scotsmen had come and more Scotsmen were coming they might be perfectly sure that Ireland was going to prosper.’[849] Whilst these remarks continued to demonstrate the enduring appeal of Scottish stereotypes for prudent and successful business dealings, they also illustrated that Dublin’s Scots were an accepted feature of the life of the city outside the UK or not.

The Society’s proclamations of loyalty to crown and empire, the continued renditions of ‘God Save the King’, the presence of invited guests such as Sir James Craig, all gave a politicised edge to gatherings whose long-held forms, if they had always been insulated from wider Irish experience, were suddenly exposed for how out-of-touch they were with realities. Their choice, as in the case of James Hubbard Clark at the outset of this chapter, to emphasise the imperial dimension of the new Free State reflected their unwillingness to accept that they now lived in a foreign state. If the civil war gave an opportunity for them, like the rest of the remnant of southern Irish unionism, to fall in behind an economically orthodox and constitutionally conservative Cumann na nGaedheal, it was merely an effort to salvage what little was left of their world under the Union, albeit a world which proved socially and culturally resilient, as described so well by the grandson of one of Dublin’s Scots.[850] The Society had always sought to maintain and promote a distinctive identity as Scottish, but had simultaneously had relied upon Ireland’s place within the UK and empire to reconcile such an identity with their proud and active roles in Dublin’s public life. As Ireland began the process of leaving this British framework the Society’s members drifted increasingly towards an active everyday identity as Irish, with only the occasional superficial engagement with their Scottishness provided by the Society’s events.

Conclusions

The Dublin Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew was founded for one clear purpose, as a mechanism for the city’s middle-class to provide financial aid and assistance to the poor according to contemporary standards of how ‘deserving’ they were. The Society’s uniqueness came from its decision that the donors and recipients of aid

[849] *IT* 2 December 1929, p.5
[850] Dickson, *Dublin*, p.471-472; Brian Inglis, *West Briton* (London 1962), Brian Inglis was the grandson of John Malcolm Inglis

would all be Scottish, it became simultaneously a vehicle for promoting both middle-class values and articulating the supposed essence of Scottish identity. It has been the intention of this study to demonstrate that the two were increasingly entwined during the period. The Society itself, in its structure and forms of organisation and activity resembled many other such voluntary and associational organisations. Independence, charity, self-help were all identified by Scots as distinctively Scottish characteristics, but were also adopted by contemporary middle-class groups across the UK. The pride Scots took in being represented amongst prominent civic roles reflected not only their group identity but also the class emphasis on public and civic duty. If Scots saw themselves as uniquely well-qualified to fulfil roles as financial professionals in banks and other companies, then Dublin with its highly politicised, and therefore sectarian, socio-economic structures provided a perfect opportunity for them to occupy such roles. Dublin's Scots freely identified as such at Society events, and were recognised as such in death, but this did not preclude them from being accepted within Dublin society for their contribution to Ireland and the city. Presbyterianism proved perhaps the most enduring marker of difference, channelling the Society's members into certain kinship groups and areas of the city, and governing their other charitable and public associations. Yet overall the face of Scottishness presented by these groups of commercial and professional urban Scots was one which shared much with their Irish, Protestant and Catholic, peers. They all to different degrees embraced the same values of their class, of self-help, charity, independence, and civic duty, even if these values were articulated with varying spins of national or religious identities. The members of the Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew demonstrated that the bonds of common social and economic interest mattered far more than differences of nationality amongst the city's professional and mercantile classes. In an urban world where professional skill and commercial acumen were the arbiters of material success, and where a shared moral code of respectable middle-class behaviour reigned, national identity had little everyday utility for Dublin's civic Scots. Indeed, following the formation of the Irish Free State these Scots showed few qualms about gradually adopting a public, if Protestant, Irishness as best suited their interests.

Conclusions

This study set out with the aim of establishing how the activities of Scots in Ireland, and their encounters with the Irish, can inform our understanding of operation of national identity within the United Kingdom and of the operation of the union state itself. Interactions between the Scots and the Irish have been examined in a variety of contexts, and it is important to recognise that diversity rather than uniformity was the marker of Scottish experience in Ireland. The mere fact of their both being Scottish did not mean that the Scottish infantryman shared views and interpretations of Irish society with his officers, let alone the Scottish 'merchant princes' of Dublin, or the inhabitants of the Chief Secretary's Lodge. As Chief Secretaries Arthur Balfour and Henry Campbell-Bannerman differed, so too Scottish agriculturists differed, as did soldier from soldier. Recognising the individuality of these Scots should not, however, obscure the fact that they participated in shared discourses of national identity, of both Scottishness and Britishness. If there were differing contexts and emphases on the deployment of Scottishness by urban Scots merchants, as compared to agriculturists in the West of Ireland, politicians in Dublin Castle, or soldiers at the Curragh, this should not prevent recognition that they all found it valuable to engage with concepts of national identity on occasion. This partly explains the continued relevance of national identity within historical studies of the period, the fact that contemporaries did use the language of nation and national character. The point of this study has not been to identify a 'true' version of Scottishness, Britishness, or Irishness, but rather to examine the understood rules and boundaries of the respective discourses of each nationality. By focussing on the interactions, the meeting points, between Scots and the Irish during the period of union we have a chance to discover these rules and boundaries in light of both positive articulation of self-identification as part of a shared group, and of the negative exclusion of others, both implicitly and explicitly, by identifying them as different.

If successful national identities rely on their ambiguity, then Scottishness was suitably so. Scottishness was capable of bridging forward-looking, rational, ideas of progress and 'improvement', finding their foundation in post-Reformation traditions of education and the Scottish Enlightenment, and Romantic ideas of the Highland soldier embodying a primordial martial prowess, linked to a historicised narrative of global Scottish military endeavours. Within the emerging nineteenth-century discourse on

race this was often expressed in terms of the duality of Scots as mixed Celt and Saxon. Certainly, this study has seen these ideas deployed by Scots in Ireland, by soldiers fraternising with locals, by businessmen opposing Home Rule, and by politicians justifying their policies as Irish ministers. These ideas were also occasionally articulated by Irishmen, though perhaps even William Smith O'Brien knew that his appeal to Gaelic solidarity from the Scottish regiments in 1848 would fail. Certainly, Scottish appeals to Celticness frequently failed to impress the Irish, as in the case of Henry Campbell-Bannerman. His acceptance by the Irish came only once he was committed to Irish Home Rule, just as Thomas Drummond had been idealised as the model British official due to his sympathies towards and understanding of nationalist Ireland. This was an important theme throughout the study, the link between identification and interests, when was it useful to portray yourself, or to label someone else, with a national identity? The political contingency of public identification was perhaps best demonstrated in chapter two on Scots politicians, with Scottishness being recognised in the individuals concerned only when convenient to competing Irish groups. If, by pointing to their identity as Scots, one could seek to delegitimise their views on Ireland as being un-Irish outsiders then this would be done, by both unionists and nationalists in Ireland, otherwise, there seemed little need to distinguish between servants of what Tim Healy called the 'British system' in Ireland, whether they were Scottish or English.

This enduring distinction between Irish and British, with the Scots firmly, if noticeably distinctly, in the British grouping is perhaps the strongest theme to come from this study. Ideas of Britishness had been slowly developed since the creation of Great Britain and 'Scots participated fully in the invention of this Britishness'. The creation of the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland was not accompanied by a corresponding adaptation of these ideas: 'thus the British state expanded, while the definition of its contingent identity remained the same.'[851] The interactions between Scots and Irish during this period serve to emphasise the distinction between the Scots as a British 'in' group and the Irish, both of their own volition and, increasingly, in the view of the British, as definitively excluded. Contrary to any assumptions of a common Celtic experience of union, relations between the two nationalities were 'characterised as

[851] Jackson, *Two Unions*, pp.145-6

much by jealousy, prejudice and alarm as cultural affinity'.[852] As the nineteenth century progressed these divisions were exacerbated as political Irish nationalism increasingly rested upon a more exclusive Irish national identity whose defining characteristics, Catholicism and agrarian ruralism, were taken as the exact opposite of the image of modern urban, industrial Britain. Crucially, Scots not only saw themselves as part of that modern Britishness, but defined their own Scottish identity in large part as being the most distinctive and effective advocates of its norms and values in Ireland as across the globe.

Together the parallel stories of Scots as soldiers, politicians, active citizens, and agriculturists in Ireland are illustrative of the wider divides which existed between the Scots and Irish as citizens of one United Kingdom. Although a sense of the shared institutions of the United Kingdom, of which the army was a prominent symbol, did exist it is clear that a lingering awareness of deeper-rooted difference remained. Scottish engagement with Irish identity frequently rested upon lazy reproductions of existing Irish stereotypes rather than genuine attempts to understand the Irish people. The superficial aspects of the Scottish regiments, their dress and music, perhaps gave them an air of approachable novelty but did not alter Irish awareness of the fact that these soldiers were often only in Ireland to uphold the form and laws of a union the Irish people increasingly wanted changed or ended altogether. For Scottish politicians, their national identity was frequently a tool of political utility both for themselves and for Irish nationalists though the importance of 'knowing', 'understanding' or 'feeling' Ireland and Irish difference was a recurring theme. The Scots of the Dublin Saint Andrew Society articulated a keen sense of Scottishness, but one whose values were largely identifiable as the broader ideals of their caste and which was reconcilable to an interpretation of Irishness compatible with their social and economic role within the Protestant middle-classes of Dublin. The nineteenth-century discourse on Irish agriculture was one in which Scots figured prominently as commentators and participants. Scotland served as the example of how a country could be both economically improved and politically reconciled to union, an example that was as obviously relevant to Ireland then as it seems to historians now. The eventual failure of the Irish union was driven by an Irish nationalism given its everyday vitality and

[852] Frank Ferguson and James McConnel, 'Introduction' in Ferguson and McConnel (eds.) *Ireland and Scotland*, pp.7-8

dynamism by issues of Irish land reform and the grievances occasioned by a culturally alien government, and made final by a military conflict against an explicitly 'British' enemy. This may be seen to some extent as a reflection of the inherent divide between Irish values and those of the enthusiastic Britons and imperialists of the nineteenth century, the Scots.

For the Scots involvement in Ireland largely complemented an outward looking British imperial identity. Scottish soldiers were seen, and saw themselves, as the most potent defence against the perceived empire-threatening rebelliousness of Ireland. The underlying Irish cultural attitudes which condoned violent resistance to the law was the reason for such frequent Irish postings for Scottish regiments and as such the very presence of the soldiers reinforced the lingering sense of difference. If Scottish politicians in Ireland at times sought to use Scotland as an example of how Ireland might be governed or reconciled within the union, it should not conceal that this was always with an emphatically British aim, firstly to reconcile Ireland to union, then later to manage its exclusion in a manner which preserved the integrity and security of the British empire. If Dublin's commercial Scots were helping to contribute to the prosperity of the Irish capital, they were doing so as part of a stratum of society increasingly seen as alien by the emerging Catholic Irish nation. Their nationally orientated society activities were part of a Victorian associational culture which reinforced and upheld a modern value system, focussed on hierarchy, respectability, and material progress, which was also deployed to highlight Irish difference within the union. Finally, Scottish self-confidence in the superiority of their agricultural methods gave them a sense of unquestioning obligation to export these ideas to improve the newest part of the United Kingdom and its inhabitants. The Irish were not equals with whom the political-economy of land would be debated, they were subordinates who needed to be shown and taught. These Scottish activities all demonstrated different points of emphasis for Scottish identity yet in each case the overarching context was clearly the transformation of Irishness into something recognisably more British, more Scot-like, or the containment or suppression of aspects of Irishness deemed irreconcilably different. If nationalism is, as Breuilly argues, the political movement to ensure congruency between the borders of state and nation, then arguably the Scots were engaging in forms of British nationalism. The borders of the British state had expanded, and the Irish needed to be brought within the parameters of the British

nation, of its modern legal, political, and economic structures and their corresponding guiding values. In claiming cultural traits of a distinctive Scottish identity which just so happened to make them ideal soldiers to police Ireland, agriculturists to fix its rural economy, or as participants in the civic and economic development of Dublin, Scots were in effect claiming a cultural predisposition to be the enforcers of Britishness in Ireland. That they were aided in these assumptions and endeavours with the explicit approval of the British state marked a stark change from Scottish involvement in Ireland in the seventeenth century, in which the English state had looked to curtail Scottish influence on the island.[853] Scots had achieved a level of acceptance and equality as participants in the British imperial project.

From their perspective, Irish experience of the Scots as armed representatives of the Union state emphasised perceptions that they occupied a subordinate place within the United Kingdom, their dissent was not tolerated, and cultural forms of violence accepted on the island were suppressed. Ideas of a shared Gaelic identity, kept alive perhaps by the Highland appearance of Scottish regiments in spite of dwindling linguistic ties, could not be reconciled with the reality of Scots soldiers policing Ireland. Armed nationalist struggle made clear that in Irish eyes Scots were inescapably British, and therefore inescapably the enemy. For nationalist Ireland, the Scottishness or otherwise of British officials was never a key concern as compared with their constitutional politics. An individual's political stance was always the prime factor behind Irish opinion concerning them, national identity was a secondary concern which could be incorporated into political attacks or justifications. For Dublin's Scots, there was the chance of acceptance within the bounded Irishness of the city's Protestant middle-classes, but always this illusion was shattered when it came into contact with other sections of society. For the Catholic nationalist majority, the inclusion of the members of the Saint Andrew Society within a civic Protestant version of Irishness was more indicative of the alien nature of Protestant Ireland, rather than of any acceptance of the 'Scotch adventurers.' Irish social concepts of land and land ownership which emphasised its fundamental role in social relations, rather than as an economic resource, remained stubborn in the face of Scottish attempts to

[853] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (paperback edition, Oxford 2003), pp.559-61

rationalise and improve Irish agriculture. Their eventual failure to do so successfully was held up as final proof of Ireland's inherent difference by Irish nationalists.

One hundred and twenty years of Scotland and Ireland existing within a common unitary state ended with the formation of the Irish Free State of twenty-six Irish counties. The behaviour of Scots soldiers during times of 'peace' in Ireland, of Scots politicians attempting to govern Ireland, of the Scottish urban professional and commercial elite of Dublin whose lives barely touched upon those of the wider Catholic nationalist Irish nation, and of Scots farmers and agriculturists attempting to improve the Irish land and people continually re-emphasised the divides which existed between Scottish and Irish values. This was implicitly the same divide which existed between Irish values and the common 'British' values of the union state. The involvement of these groups of Scots in Ireland was not that of fellow citizens of a shared state. Their activities were largely based upon the idea of Irish difference: the Irish needed Scots soldiers and officials to enforce British laws and loyalty; the Irish needed Scots agriculturists to improve their land and, in the process, imbue its people with the values of reason and rationality. The Irish at first resisted and later whole-heartedly rejected the social implications of Scottish improving methods, a rejection of the enlightenment capitalist rationale which they were predicated upon. 'Scotch' methods and graziers became the rhetorical symbols of the failure of British land policy in Ireland and, by implication, the United Kingdom itself. For both groups Scottishness and Irishness proved incompatible as part of one shared British identity. Scots saw the Ireland which entered the United Kingdom as one which needed to be made British, ideas of Britishness were not going to be expanded to include Ireland as it was, and it is perhaps significant that two spheres where Scots were so visibly and distinctly Scottish, on the land and in the military, were mainly concerned with pursuing emphatically British goals. A distinctly Irish social and cultural viewpoint survived however in Catholic and nationalist Ireland: an Irishness which required the presence of Scots soldiers to police agrarian, sectarian, and political violence; an Irishness which continued to seek liberation from the 'foreign' government of Westminster; an Irishness which refused to view the Scottish community of Dublin as anything other than alien; an Irishness which rejected Scottish conceptions of land ownership and capital-orientated agriculture; an Irishness which ultimately came to recognise

Scottishness as merely one face, often the most distinctively intrusive face, of a Britishness that it could not be reconciled to.

This study has presented an attempt to move beyond strictly comparative frameworks for assessing Scottish and Irish engagement with Britishness and the union state. In doing so, it has done more than reiterate the already existing and largely accepted narrative of Scotland as a more willing participant in union than Ireland. By studying the interactions of Scots and Irish it has shown that Scots were not merely more comfortable within the union state as 'North Britons' but that the Scots were actively involved in constructing the boundaries of a shared Britishness, largely to the exclusion of the large majority of Irish society, which would become the popular basis of the Irish nationalist movement. From the Irish perspective, it has been shown that whilst the nomenclature of 'English' and 'Saxon' predominated, Irish hostility towards distinctly Scottish elements of economic, military, and political structures of union was common, and reflected an Irish recognition that from their point of view the Scots were an inseparable part of the British centre, from which they were excluded and ruled, rather than a kindred periphery.

The activities of these Scots in Ireland demonstrated the ambiguities and contingencies inherent in the articulation of national identities, Scottish, Irish, and British. Yet, the continued compatibility between Scottishness and Britishness as opposed to the continued opposition of Britishness to Irishness should not be simply viewed as a chance outcome of one periphery, Scotland, happening to share some inherent characteristics with the English/British centre to begin with, as opposed to another periphery, Ireland, which lacked those same foundational characteristics. Rather, the compatibility of Scottishness with Britishness reflects an active engagement on the part of the Scots to shape and build a British identity which included themselves. Scottish conceptions of modernity recognised the inherent moral and material imperative of progress and improvement. The fact that England was, to eighteenth-century Scots eyes, demonstrably wealthier and more liberal (in a broad sense) than Scotland promoted a powerful drive towards the deliberate replication of the values and processes which were perceived to have led to this. Vitally, where England's arrival at the point of modernity was seen as the result of historical accident and the laws of unintended consequences, Scots would seek to rationally identify and

actively pursue the features of modernity they aspired to.[854] Linked to the historic legacy of an expansionist seventeenth-century Presbyterianism, Scots saw themselves as taking on the role of modernisers *par excellence* on a global scale through the British imperial project. Scottish attachment to these ideas was such that there was no question of adapting them to include Ireland, and thus the only remaining option was the transformation of Ireland to suit. This was the imperative of Scottish agriculturists, meanwhile Scottish soldiers would play their part in policing and quelling the more 'Irish' aspects of violence in the country. Scottish merchants and professionals would find their place in the culturally familiar world of Dublin Protestantism, much as they could in London, other British cities, or further afield within the British Empire. To Scots politicians fell the task of governing Ireland, a task which again saw the concession that Ireland's difference was insurmountable. This was accepted by all whether they advocated for separate Irish government, or management and appeasement within the union. For all of these men, their articulation of Scottishness was generally an articulation of superiority within the union, as the original Britons, of a nation ahead in the process of inclusion and influence within the British state and empire. Together these disparate areas of Scottish activity in Ireland emphasise that the study of the two nations on a purely comparative basis as two contrasting peripheries, of one successfully integrated within the union and one which succumbed to discontented nationalism, inherently fails to recognise that these were not unrelated outcomes. By actively shaping a Scottishness and Britishness that were mutually compatible and to some extent reinforcing, Scots were contributing to the divide which would prevent the inclusion of the majority of Ireland within a shared definition of Britishness as citizens of the union state. The failure to make Ireland British was, at least indirectly, a result of the success in forging a Britishness which incorporated Scotland. It was this Scotticized Britishness that was promoted by Scots in Ireland, and it was this same Britishness that the majority of Ireland found irreconcilable with their own developing national identity.

[854] Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment*, pp.39-42

Appendix 1 Map of Irish Counties and Major Towns and Cities

Appendix 2 Timeline of Events

1798 – United Ireland rebellion

1801 – Act of Union creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland comes into effect

1814 – Peace Preservation Act establishes first organised police in Ireland; Treaty of Paris signed between France and United Kingdom

1815 – Napoleon's return from exile ends at Waterloo. A second Treaty of Paris ends the Napoleonic Wars.

1818 – Charles Grant becomes Chief Secretary of Ireland

1821 – Beginnings of 'Rockite' agrarian violence in Ireland which will last into the middle of the decade; Charles Grant leaves role of Chief Secretary of Ireland

1822 – Formation of provincial constabularies under the control of Dublin Castle

1823 – Foundation of the Catholic Association in Ireland

1828 – Daniel O'Connell wins Clare by-election

1829 – Catholic Emancipation Act passed

1831 – Foundation of the Dublin Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew; Beginnings of the Tithe War in parts of Ireland

1832 – Reform Acts passed for England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland

1835 – Lichfield House Compact sees informal alliance agreed between the Whigs and O'Connell; Thomas Drummond appointed Undersecretary for Ireland, serves under Lord Musgrave as Lord Lieutenant and Viscount Morpeth as Chief Secretary.

1836 – Police reformed into Irish Constabulary

1838 – Tithe Rent Charge Act passed, largely ends lingering conflict over tithes

1840 – O'Connell founds National Repeal Association; Death of Thomas Drummond in office

1845 – First instances of potato blight in Ireland, ongoing famine conditions in various parts of Ireland for the next few years, the Great Famine.

1848 – Young Ireland Rebellion

1849 – Encumbered Estates Act passed

1853 – War in the Crimea

1856 – End of the Crimean War

1857 – The 'Indian Mutiny'

1867 – Fenian Risings

1870 – Foundation of Home Rule movement; Gladstone's First Irish Land Act

1871 - Regulation of the Forces Act pairs single battalion line regiments for the purposes of organising recruiting and service. Part of broader Cardwell Reforms to service conditions.

1877 – Charles Stewart Parnell MP becomes leader of the Home Rule movement

1878 – British invasion of Afghanistan, the Second Anglo-Afghan War

1879 – Land League formed in Ireland

1880 – Beginnings of rent strikes and boycotts; Gladstone's Second Irish Land Act; End of Second Anglo-Afghan War; First Boer War begins

1881 – End of the First Boer War; Childers Reforms of the British Army. Cardwell pairs are merged into single two battalion regiments (with the exception of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders). Technically this was meant to abolish regimental seniority and the existing regimental names and customs, however many regiments unofficially maintained traditions and nomenclature internally.

1882 – Imprisoned Parnellites released after Kilmainham 'Treaty' agreed with the Liberals; Chief Secretary Frederick Cavendish assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin; George Otto Trevelyan becomes Chief Secretary; Anglo-Egyptian War sees British secure control over Egypt

1884 – British Army sent into the Sudan as part of the Mahdist War; George Otto Trevelyan replaced as Chief Secretary by Henry Campbell-Bannerman

1885 – Henry Campbell-Bannerman leaves role of Chief Secretary as Liberal lose office; Gladstone adopts Home Rule as a policy, this will split the Liberal Party

1886 - Failure of the First Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons

1887 – Arthur Balfour becomes Chief Secretary of Ireland; Criminal Law and Procedures (Ireland) Act passed by Conservative government, gave permanence to previously temporary extraordinary legal measures used for law enforcement in Ireland.

1890 - Irish Parliamentary Party splits over Parnell's continued leadership

1891 – Arthur Balfour leaves role of Chief Secretary to become Leader of the House of Commons

1893 - Failure of the Second Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords

1895 – Gerald Balfour becomes Chief Secretary of Ireland

1896 – British forces deployed to reconquer Sudan

1898 - William O'Brien founds the United Irish League

1899 – End of reconquest of Sudan; Second Boer War begins

1900 – Gerald Balfour becomes President of the Board of Trade, replaced as Chief Secretary by George Wyndham

1902 – Second Boer War ends

1903 – Conservatives pass Land Act supporting land purchase for tenants.

1905 – Liberals return to government. Lord Aberdeen appointed as Lord Lieutenant and James Bryce as Chief Secretary

1907 – Failure of the Irish Council Bill which would have granted limited devolution to Ireland; Bryce replaced as Chief Secretary by Augustine Birrell

1909 – Further funding for land purchase under a new Land Act

1912 – Third Home Bill introduced, Solemn League and Covenant signed in opposition by Irish unionists.

1913 – Formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force to resist Home Rule; Formation of the Irish Volunteers in support of Home Rule

1914 – Unionist gun-running at Larne, nationalist gun-running at Howth leads to civilians killed in clashes with the British army at Bachelor's Walk, Dublin; Outbreak of the First World War; Home Rule enacted but suspended for the duration of the conflict

1915 – Lord Aberdeen's second spell as Lord Lieutenant ends

1916 – Easter Rising in Dublin, many of the leaders executed in its aftermath; Augustine Birrell resigns as Chief Secretary; Battle of the Somme

1917 – Republican Sinn Fein begin to defeat the IPP in Irish by-elections

1918 – Armistice ends the First World War; Sinn Fein wins the general election in Ireland but the unionists continue to win the majority of seats in Ulster

1919 – Sinn Fein abstain from Westminster and sit as Dáil Éireann; Anglo-Irish War begins

1920 – Government of Ireland Act creates devolved administration for six northern counties

1921 – Truce between the Irish Republican Army and British armed forces; Anglo-Irish Treaty signed formalising the partition of Ireland and turning the twenty-six counties into the Irish Free State under the British crown

1922 – Civil War in Ireland between those who support and oppose the treaty

1923 – End of the Irish Civil War, Ireland becomes an independent member of the League of Nations

Appendix 3 Regiment Names and Amalgamations

25th Regiment of Foot; 1805 25th (King's Own Borderers) Regiment of Foot; 1881 The King's Own Borderers; 1887 The King's Own Scottish Borderers[a]

26th (Cameronians) Regiment of Foot; 1881 1st Battalion Cameronians (Scotch Rifles)

42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot ("Black Watch"); 1881 1st Battalion Royal Highland Regiment (The Black Watch)

71st (Highland) Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry); 1809 71st (Glasgow Highland Light Infantry) Regiment of Foot; 1810 71st (Highland) Light Infantry; 1881 1st Battalion Highland Light Infantry

72nd (Highland) Regiment of Foot; 1809 72nd regiment of Foot; 1823 72nd (Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1881 1st Battalion Seaforth Highlanders[b]

73rd (Highland) regiment of Foot; 1809 73rd Regiment of Foot; 1862 73rd (Perthshire) Regiment of Foot; 1881 2nd Battalion Royal Highland Regiment (The Black Watch)[b]

74th (Highland) Regiment of Foot; 1809 74th Regiment of Foot; 1845 74th (Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1881 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry[b]

75th (Stirlingshire) Regiment of Foot; 1809 75th Regiment of Foot; 1862 75th (Stirlingshire) Regiment of Foot; 1881 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders[b]

78th (Highland) Regiment of Foot ("Ross-shire Buffs"); 1881 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders

79th (Cameronian Volunteers) Regiment of Foot; 1806 79th (Cameron Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1873 The 79th Regiment, The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders ; 1881 1st Battalion The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders; 1897 2nd Battalion Formed

90th (Perthshire Volunteers) Regiment of Foot; 1881 2nd Battalion Cameronians (Scotch Rifles)

91st (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1809 91st regiment of Foot; 1821 93rd (Argyllshire) Regiment of Foot; 1864 93rd (Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1872 91st (Princess Louise's Argyllshire Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1881 1st Battalion Princess Louise's (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders); 1921 1st Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's) [b]

92nd (Gordon Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1881 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders

93rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot; 1861 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders) Regiment of Foot; 1881 2nd Battalion Princess Louise's (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders); 1921 2nd Battalion Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's)

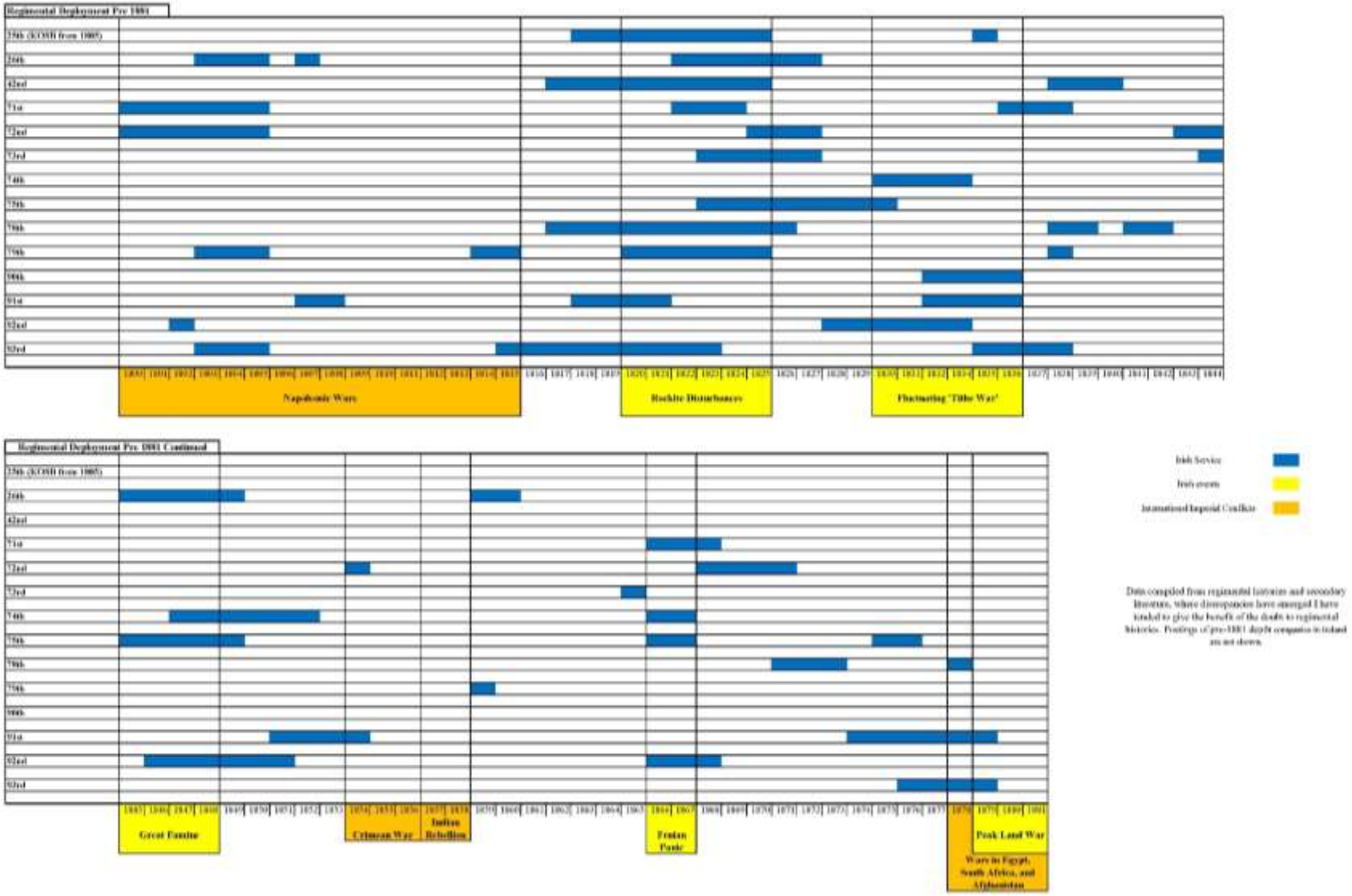
94th Regiment of Foot (“Scots Brigade”) Disbanded 1818; Re-formed 1823; 1875 Recognised as successor to 94th disbanded in 1818; 1881 2nd Battalion Connaught Rangers

[a] Pre-1881 the 1st thru 25th Regiments of Foot already possessed two battalions so were not subject to mergers.

[b] In 1809 these regiments had lost their Highland designation, but their individual identifications with localities and Scotland remained strong. Between 1821 and 1862 these regiments regained designated Scottish names and recognised Scottish aspects to their dress, some of which had been retained through the intervening years despite official regulations.

Arthur Swinson’s *A Register of the Regiments and Corps of the British Army: The Ancestry of the Regiments and Corps of the Regular Establishment* (London 1972) proved invaluable in endeavouring to faithfully represent the historic names and identities of these regiments.

Appendix 4A Regimental Deployment to Ireland to 1881



Appendix 4B Regimental Deployment to Ireland 1881-1921

Appendix 5 Dublin Benevolent Society of Saint Andrew Officeholders[855]

Year	President	Vice-Presidents		Secretary(ies)	Treasurer	Chaplains	Physicians	Committee	
1835	James Ferrier	Lt Col Spottiswoode	John Jameson	M Morison	John H Reid	Rev James Carlile	Dr Duncan	John Kirkwood	John Harley
		W W Jameson	Andrew Pollock	J McGlashan		Rev J W Massie	Dr McArthur	John R Baird	William Duncan
		John Arnot	John Cumming					George Mason	George Mitchell
		Rev Sir H lees	William Henry					Doctor Scouler	Thomas Clouston
								Alexander Sanson	
1836	James Ferrier	Lt Col Spottiswoode	James Jameson	M Morison	John H Reid			John Kirkwood	John Harley
		W W Jameson	Andrew Pollock	J McGlashan				John R Baird	John Carrick
		William Edington	John Cumming					George Mason	George Mitchell
		Rev Sir H lees	William Henry					Daniel Miller	Thomas Clouston
								J F Duncan	
1837	James Ferrier	Rt Hon Lord Saltoun	James Jameson	M Morison	John H Reid			John Kirkwood	John Harley
		Robert Murray	Patrick Reid	J McGlashan				John Carrick	George Mason
		William Edington	John Cumming					George Mitchell	Thomas Clouston
		Rev Sir H lees	William Henry					William Duncan	James Harris
1838	James Ferrier	Rt Hon Lord Saltoun	James Jameson	M Morison	John H Reid			John Kirkwood	John Harley
		Robert Murray	Patrick Reid					John Carrick	Thomas Clouston
		William Edington	William Henry					William Duncan	Alexander Bogue
		Daniel Millar	Major Crawford					John Harnie	Kenneth Chisholm
1841	James Ferrier	William Henry	Daniel Millar	M Morison	John H Reid	Rev James Carlile	Dr Kirby	John Kirkwood	John Carrick
		Major Crawford	Dr Duncan				Dr McArthur	Alexander Bogue	Kenneth Chisholm
		Alex Parker	William Harvie					John Lang	Alexander Findlater
		Colonel McGregor	William Todd					John Gray	James Harris
1843	James Ferrier	William Henry	William Harvey	John Carrick	John H Reid	Rev C Nairne	Dr Kirby	John Kirkwood	Alexander Bogue
		Colonel McGregor	Charles Tod				Dr J F Duncan	Kenneth Chisholm	John Lang
		William Todd	Charles Copeland					Thomas Heiton	Daniel Leishman
		James Campbell	Alexander Findlater					John Harley	W D Kirkpatrick
								Alexander Johnston	
1844	James Ferrier	Colonel McGregor	Charles Tod	John Carrick	John H Reid	Rev C Nairne	Dr Kirby	Alexander Bogue	John Lang
		William Todd	Charles Copeland				Dr J F Duncan	Thomas Heiton	John Harley
		James Campbell	Alexander Findlater					W D Kirkpatrick	Alexander Johnston
		John Jameson JNR	Mathew Morison					William Stark	John Ireland
								George Mitchell	
1845	James Ferrier	Charles Tod	Charles Copeland	John Carrick	John H Reid		Dr Kirby	John Lang	John Harley
		Alexander Findlater	John Jameson JNR				Dr J F Duncan	Kenneth Chiholm	Thomas Heiton
		Mathew Morison	W W Jameson					William Stark	Robert Cochrane
		Alexander Parker	James Campbell					W D Kirkpatrick	John Ireland
								John Marr	

[855]Data in these tables was compiled through the utilisation the *Dublin Almanac and General Register for Ireland, Thom's Almanac,* and printed press reports of meetings.

1846	James Ferrier	Alexander Findlater Mathew Morison Alexander Parker Robert Murray	John Jameson JNR W W Jameson James Campbell Doctor Duncan	John Carrick	John H Reid		Dr Kirby Dr J F Duncan	John Lang Thomas Heiton Alexander Bogue W D Kirkpatrick John Marr	John Harley James Parker Robert Cochrane David Drummond
1847	James Ferrier	John Jameson JNR W W Jameson Robert Murray John Barton	Mathew Morison Alexander Parker Doctor Duncan James Sterling	John Carrick	John H Reid		Dr Kirby Dr J F Duncan	John Lang Thomas Heiton W D Kirkpatrick	John Harley Robert Cochrane John Marr
1848	James Ferrier	W W Jameson James Sterling Alexander Parker John Barton	Robert Murray William Todd Doctor Duncan Patrick Reid	John Carrick	John H Reid		Dr J F Duncan	John Lang Thomas Heiton W D Kirkpatrick Alexander Bogue Thomas Paul	John Harley Robert Cochrane James Mackey Alexander Muray
1849	James Ferrier	Robert Murray William Todd John Barton John H Reid	James Stirling Doctor Duncan Patrick Reid John Jameson	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley Robert Cochrane James Mackey John Ireland Mal. Stark	Thomas Heiton W D Kirkpatrick Thomas Paul James Fairlie
1850	James Ferrier	Robert Murray William Todd J H Reid John Barton	John Sterling John Jameson Dr Duncan Patrick Reid	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley Robert Cochrane James Mackey Mal. Stark John Ireland	Thomas Heiton W D Kirkpatrick Thomas Paul Alexander Murray
1851	James Ferrier	William Todd Alexander Parker David Drummond John H Reid	John Jameson John J Robertson Patrick Reid W W Jameson	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley Robert Cochrane James Fairlie J Mitchell JNR James Stark	Thomas Heiton Thomas Paul John Ireland James Weir
1852	Alexander Parker	John Jameson JNR David Drummond John H Reid Doctor Duncan	W W Jameson James Stirling John J Robertson Mathew Morison	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley James Brown George Mitchell Thomas Paul James Morton	James Fairlie Robert Cochrane James Mackey James Stark

1857	Alexander Parker	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley	Thomas Paul
		John Jameson	Sir Duncan McGregor					George Mason	George Mitchell
		Alexander Findlater	Thomas Heiton					R Cochrane	George Dingwall
		Doctor Duncan	John Fyffe					Robert Bell	William Cameron
								John Falconer	
1858	Alexander Parker	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	John Harley	Thomas Paul
		John Jameson	Sir Duncan McGregor					George Mason	George Mitchell
		Alexander Findlater	Thomas Heiton					R Cochrane	George Dingwall
		Doctor Duncan	John Fyffe					Robert Bell	William Cameron
								John Falconer	
1859	Alexander Parker	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	Thomas Paul	R Cochrane
		Alexander Findlater	Thomas Heiton					George Dingwall	Robert Bell
		Doctor Duncan	John Fyffe					John Falconer	James Stack
		William Jameson	Mathew Morison					John Rintoul	Adam S Findlater
								William McNaught	
1860	Alexander Parker	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan	Thomas Paul	R Cochrane
		Alexander Findlater	Thomas Heiton					George Dingwall	Robert Bell
		Doctor Duncan	John Fyffe					John Falconer	James Stack
		William Jameson	Mathew Morison					John Rintoul	Adam S Findlater
								William McNaught	
1861	Alexander Parker	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	John Carrick	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan		
		Alexander Findlater	John Jameson						
		John Barton	Sir John Arnott						
		William Jameson	Mathew Morison						
1862	Alexander Parker JP	Alexander James Ferrier	Henry W Todd	VACANT	John Lang		Dr J F Duncan		
		Alexander Findlater	John Jameson						
		John Barton	Sir John Arnott						
		Dr Duncan	Silvester Rait						
1863	Alexander Parker JP	John Barton	Sir John Arnott MP	VACANT	John Lang		Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Paul	R Cochrane
		Alexander Findlater	John Jameson					John Falconer	George Dingwall
		Dr Duncan	Sylvester Rait					John Rintoul	James Robertson
		Mathew Morison	Allan Pollok					Hugh Brown	William Findlater
								Alexander Sutherland	
1864	Alexander Parker JP	Alexander Findlater	John Jameson	Alexander Sutherland	John Lang		Dr James F Duncan		
		Dr Duncan	Silvester Rait						
		Mathew Morison	Allan Pollok						
		William Todd	Alexander J Ferrier						

1865	Alexander Parker JP	Alexander Findlater Dr Duncan Mathew Morison William Todd	John Jameson Sylvester Rait Allan Pollok Alexander J Ferrier	Alexander Sutherland	John Lang		Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Paul George Dingwall James Robertson John Findlater James Weir	John Falconer John Rintoul Hugh Brown George Mitchell	
1866	Alexander Parker JP	Dr Duncan Mathew Morison William Todd	Sylvester Rait Allan Pollock Alexander J Ferrier	Sutherland (Hon.)	John Lang	Rev James Stevenson	Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Paul George Dingwall James Robertson David Robertson M Drysdale	John Falconer John Rintoul Hugh Brown T Muir Grant	
1867	Alexander Parker JP	Mathew Morison William Todd Sir John Arnott Alexander Findlater	Allan Pollok Alexander J Ferrier Robert Clouston George Rutherford	T Muir Grant	James Robertson	Rev James Stevenson	Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Paul John Rintoul David Rogerson William McNaughton John Findlater	George Dingwall Hugh Brown Mathew Drysdale William Brown	
1868	Alexander Parker JP	William Todd Sir John Arnott JP A Findlater Hugh Brown	A J Ferrier R Clouston G Rutherford John Jameson	T M Grant	James Robertson	Rev James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan Dr A McAlistar	Thomas Paul John Rintoul Matthew Drysdale James McAlsiter Thomas Wardrop	George Dingwall David Rogerson William McNaught J H Reid Jnr.	
1869	Alexander Parker JP	Sir John Arnott Robert Clouston John Jameson Mathew Morison	Alexander Findlater George Rutherford Hugh Brown Charles Copland	James (?) Grant	James Robertson	Rev James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan Dr A McAlistar	George Dingwall Mathew Drysdale Thomas Wardrop	David Rogerson James L McAlister	
1870	Alexander Parker JP	Alexander Findlater JP John Jameson JP Matthew Morrison Thomas Hewat	Robert Clouston Hugh Brown Charles Copland David Drummond JP	J D Carnegie	James Robertson		Dr James F Duncan Dr A McAlistar	George Dingwall Maathew Drysdale Adam S Findlater Robert Bell William Ross	David Hugeson James J McAlister Thomas Wardrop William Aitkin	
1871	Alexander Parker JP	George Rutherford John Jameson Charles Copland David Drummond Sylvester Rait	Hugh Brown Mathew Morison Thomas Hewat James Stirling	J D Carnegie	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan Dr A McAlistar			

1872	Alexander Parker JP	Matthew Morisson	Charles Copland	J D Carnegie	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan	George Dingwall	Mathew Drysdale
		Thomas Hewat	David Drummond				Dr A McAlistar	James MCAlister	Thomas Wardrop
		Adam Findlater	James Stirling					Robert Bell	William McNaught
		David Moore						George McNee	Alexander O'Gilvy
								John Gealy	
1873	Alexander Parker JP	Thomas Hewat	David Drummond	James Robertson	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan	George Dingwall	Mathew Drysdale
		James Stirling	Sylvester Rait JP				Dr A McAlistar	James J McAlister	Thomas Wardrop
		Adam S Findlater	David Moore PhD					William Brown	James Tedcastle
		Gilbert Burns	William Jameson JP					William McNaught	George McNie
								J H Reid	
1874	Alexander Parker JP	Adam S Findlater	David Moore	James Robertson (Hon.)	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan		
		Gilbert Burns	William Jameson				Dr A McAlistar		
		James Stirling JP	Sylvester Rait JP						
		William Todd JP	John Jameson JP						
1875	Alexander Parker JP	Adam S Findlater	Dr David Moore	James Robertson (Hon.)	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Wardop	William Brown
		Gilbert Burns	William Jameson JP					Robert Bell	William McNaught
		William Todd JP	J Jameson JP					George Macnie	David Middleton
		J J Robertson JP						William Aitken	Robert Cochrane
								David McDowall	
1876	Alexander Parker JP	Gilbert Burns JP	William Jameson	James Robertson (Hon.)	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Wardrop	William Brown
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		J Robertson	M J Pollock					George Macnie	David Middleton
		John Rintoul	William Davidson					Wiliam Aitken	Alexander Ogilvey
		William Findlater				Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr A McAlistar	Major Charles McCallum	
1877	Alexander Parker JP	William Todd	J Jameson	James Robertson (Hon.)	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan	Thomas Wardrop	William Brown
		J J Robertson	M J Pollock JP				Dr A McAlistar	George Macnie	David Middleton
		John Rintoul AM	William Davidson					William Aitkin	Lt-Col Charles McCallum
		William Findlater	Robert Bell					George Mitchell	J M Inglis
								William Thompson MD	

1878	Alexander Parker	J J Robertson John Rintoul Robert Bell Sir John Arnott	M J Pollock William Davidson William Findlater Charles Copland	James Robertson (Hon.)	James Robertson	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr James F Duncan Dr A McAlistar	Thomas Wardrop Lt Col Charles McCallum J M Inglis Alexander Cameron Alexander Ogilvie	William Brown George Mitchell William Thomson MD John Findlater
1879	Alexander Parker	William Davidson William Findlater Charles Copland James F Duncan	John Rintoul Robert Bell Sir John Arnott John Jameson Jnr.						
1880	Alexander Parker	William Findlater Charles Copeland James F Duncan William Todd	Robert Bell Sir John Arnott John Jameson jun. Matthew Morison	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr A McAlister Dr William Thomson		
1881	Alexander Parker	Sir John Arnott J F Duncan MD John Jameson JP Matthew Morrison Robert Clouston	Charles Copeland John Findlater William Todd Robert Clouston	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr A McAlister Dr William Thomson	Lt Col Charles McCallum George Mitchell Thomas Cochrane William Gibson Robert Farquharson	Thomas Wardop Walter Brown James Tedcastle Professor McNab
1882	Alexander Parker	John Findlater Sir John Arnott James F Duncan Matthew Morrison	Robert Clouston Charles Copland John Jameson jun. Matthew Morrison	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev. James Stevenson Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr A McAlister Dr William Thomson		
1883	Alexander Parker JP	J F Duncan Matthew Morison Lt Col McCallum George Rutherford JP	John Jameson JP John Findlater William Davidson George Mitchell	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr A McAlister Dr William Thomson	Thomas Cochrane Professor McNab William Wardrop James McDonald Robert Blair	James Tedcastle William Gibson Robert Paul Robert Forbes
1884	Alexander Parker JP	John Jameson JP William Davidson George Rutherford James Weir	J Findlater JP George Mitchell William Aitken J D Carnegie	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan	John Brown Robert Blair F W Moore Robert Forbes J M Gillies	Professor McNab William Gibson William Wardrop James McDonald

1885	Alexander Parker JP	James Jameson William Davidson G Rutherford JP James Weir	William Findlater MP Goerge Mitchell William Aitken J D Carnegie	George M Ross	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan	Professor McNab William Gibson George Macnie J C Anderson Robert Gow	Robert Blair William Wardrop Robert Forbes John Brown
1886	Alexander Parker JP	James F Duncan Matthew Morrison Willam Davidson John Findlater	John Jameson Lt. Col. Charles McCallum George Rutherford	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr A McAlister Dr William Thomson		
1887	James Robertson JP	James Weir William Findlater MP Sir Robert Hamilton CB Professort McNab	J D Carnegie JP James Jameson JP J H Reid J R Wigham JP	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan	William Wardrop Robert Gow David Middleton William Ross W Hewat	Robert Forbes G Mitchell James Merry Dr Hepburn
1888	James Robertson	James Weir William Findlater MP Sir Robert Hamilton CB Professort McNab	J D Carnegie JP James Jameson JP J H Reid J R Wigham JP	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan		
1889	James Robertson	James Jameson Professor McNab George Macnie F W Niven	J H Reid J R Wigham Dr Blyth George Rutherford	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan	W Wardrop R Gow J A Merry W Bar W Lawson	Robert Forbes Dr Hepburn J Miller J Carlyle
1890	James Robertson	George Macnie Robert Tedcastle John R Wigham F W Niven	Dr Blyth John Rintoul F W Niven George Rutherford	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan		
1891	James Robertson JP	George Macnie Robert Tedcastle John R Wigham George Rutherford	Dr Blyth John Rintoul F W Niven	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev R McCheyne Edgar Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr J F Duncan		
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1893	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle F W Niven William Findlater Professor Cunningham	John Rintoul George Rutherford David Ross JP J Hamilton Reid	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	
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1896	James Robertson JP	John Findlater Professor Cunningham John Jameson JP J A Scott	David Ross JP J Hamilton Reid John Lumsden J D Carnegie	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy JP	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	
1897	James Robertson JP	Professor Cunningham John Lumsden J D Carnegie James Carlyle	J Hamilton Reid J A Scott John Findlater William Hewat	J C Anderson	Alexander Ogilvy JP	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor Rev William Proctor	Dr William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn Dr W H Hepburn	
1898	George Macnie JP	John Lumsden J D Carnegie James Carlyle Alexander Ogilvy	J A Scott John Findlater William Hewat	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	
1899	George Macnie JP	John Lumsden J D Carnegie James Carlyle Alexander Ogilvy	J A Scott John Findlater William Hewat	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	
1900	George Macnie JP	John Lumsden John Fndlater William Hewat JP James A Merry	J D Carnegie James Carlyle Alexander Ogilvy Rev R McCheyne Edgar	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	

1901	George Macnie JP	J D Carnegie James Carlyle Alexander Ogilvy Rev R McCheyne Edgar D J Cunningham	John Findalter William Hewat James A Merry Robert Forbes	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thompson Dr W H Hepburn	
1902	George Macnie JP	James Carlyle James A Merry Robert Forbes Thomas A Stodart	Alexander Ogilvy Rev R. McCheyne Edgar D J Cunningham William Spence	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1903	Professor D J Cunningham	James A Merry Robert Forbes William Spence Professor Alexander Fraser	Rev R. McCheyne Edgar Thomas A Stodart John Panton	James Robertson JP (Hon.)	J C Anderson	Rev James A Campbell Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1904	James Robertson	Thomas A Stodart J B Falconer John Panton F W Moore F Stuart Gardiner	William Spence Hugh McKean Professor Alexander Fraser George Mitchell	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1905	James Robertson	Thomas A Stodart J B Falconer John Panton F W Moore F Stuart Gardiner	William Spence Hugh McKean Professor Alexander Fraser George Mitchell	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1906	James Robertson	Hugh McKean F W Moore Alexander Ogilvy JP Archibald Murray JP	Professor Alexander Fraser George Mitchell James Crabbe Joseph Findlater	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1907	James Robertson	F W Moore Alexander Ogilvy Archibald Murray William Baird	George Mitchell James Crabbe Joseph Findlater Joseph Milne JP	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Dr W H Hepburn Dr W H Hepburn	

1908	James Robertson	F W Moore Alexander Ogilvy JP Joseph Findlater William Baird	George Mitchell James Crabbe Archibald Murray JP Joseph Milne	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1909	James Robertson	Alexander Ogilvy JP Joseph Findlater William Baird Robert Tedcastle	James Crabbe Archibald Murray JP Joseph Milne John Hamilton Reid	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Sir William Thomson Dr W H Hepburn	
1910	James Robertson	William Baird Robert Tedcastle John Lumsden Robert Merry	Joseph Milne John Hamilton Reid A G Reid James Gibson Macintyre	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr W H Hepburn	
1911	James Robertson	William Baird Robert Tedcastle John Lumsden Robert Merry	Joseph Milne John Hamilton Reid A G Reid James Gibson Macintyre	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr W H Hepburn	
1912	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle John Lumsden Robert Merry Sir Frederick W Moore	John Hamilton Reid A G Reid Sir John Arnott, Bart. Daniel Livingston Ramsay	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr Robert Browne	
1913	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle A G Reid Sir John Arnott, Bart. Daniel Livingston Ramsay	John Hamilton Reid Robert Merry Sir Frederick W Moore Profesort J R Campbell	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr Robert Browne	
1914	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle A G Reid Sir Frederick W Moore Profesort J R Campbell	John Hamilton Reid Sir John Arnott, Bart. Daniel Livingston Ramsay J B Falconer KC	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr T Mather Thomson	
1915	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle A G Reid Sir Frederick W Moore Profesort J R Campbell	John Hamilton Reid Sir John Arnott, Bart. Daniel Livingston Ramsay J B Falconer KC	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr T Mather Thomson	

1916	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle George M Ross Sir Frederick W Moore Profesort J R Campbell	John Browne Sir John Arnott, Bart. Daniel Livingston Ramsay J B Falconer KC	Andrew Dawson	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr T Mather Thomson	
1917	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle George M Ross J B Falconer KC Andrew Jameson	John Browne Daniel Livingston Ramsay James Adam JP T K Laidlaw	James Stephen	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	P W Maxwell Dr T Mather Thomson	
1918	James Robertson	Robert Tedcastle J B Falconer KC Andrew Jameson John Smellie	John Browne George M Ross T K Laidlaw William Hewat	James Stephen	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor	Dr T Mather Thomson	
1919	VACANT	Robert Tedcastle George M Ross Andrew Jameson John Smellie	John Brown J B Falconer KC T K Laidlaw William Hewat	James Stephen	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Dr T Mather Thomson	
1920	T K Laidlaw	George M Ross Andrew Jameson DL William Hewat William A Fraser	J B Falconer KC John Smellie Andrew Dawson	James Stephen	J C Anderson	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Dr T Mather Thomson	
1921	T K Laidlaw	George M Ross Andrew Jameson DL William Hewat William A Fraser	J B Falconer KC John Smellie Andrew Dawson	James Stephen	VACANT	Rev William Proctor Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Dr T Mather Thomson	
1922	T K Laidlaw	J B Falconer KC William Hewat Robert Nicol Archibald Murray	John Smellie Andrew Dawson Prof James Wilson Gerard Black	James Stephen	George Macnie JP	Rev A H MacPherson Rev F Stuart Gardiner	Dr T Mather Thomson	

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